

A N <sup>W. Wingham</sup>

APOLOGY  
FOR THE  
DISCOURSE  
OF  
HUMANE REASON,  
Written by  
M. A. CLIFFORD, Esq;  
Being a REPLY to  
PLAIN DEALING.

With the  
Author's *Epitaph* and *Character*.

By <sup>Albertus</sup> A. Warren.

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*Frustra ei consilium datur, qui per se non  
sapit, Machiavel. — Princeps.*

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London, Printed for Walter Davis  
Amen Corner, MDCLXXX.

LIBRARY OF THE

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list includes names such as "J. H. Smith", "W. J. Jones", and "M. J. Brown", among others. The addresses are also written in cursive and include street names and city names.

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NO 1



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To the Right Honourable

**A N T H O N Y,**  
EARL OF  
**SHAFTESBURY,**

Baron *Ashley* of *Wimbourne*  
*St. Giles*, and Lord *Cooper* of  
*Pawlet*.

S I R,

**I** Presume to lay this  
my *Discourse*, tend-  
ing to *Peace*, hum-  
bly at your Feet: be-  
cause, 'tis well known,

A 3      You

## *The Epistle*

You are a Courteous,  
Generous, Excellent, and  
Impartial Judge; and not  
so, more from your long  
Experience in the high-  
est Concerns of your  
Native Countrey, than  
from the *unequall'd choice-*  
*ness* of your *Natural*  
*parts*; and besides all  
these (which were not  
my least Inducements)  
from my assurance of  
your Lordships Conde-  
scention, in formerly ob-  
liging

## *Dedictory.*

liging the, now deceased,  
*Author of the Discourse*  
*about HUMANE REASON,*  
by a particular Favour,  
and so significant *then,*  
that there may be *Rea-*  
*son* to doubt, whether,  
if it had not been *season-*  
*ably* done, we had ever  
seen the Publication of  
that Issue of his *Brain;*  
for nothing has more of-  
ten dampt the *pregnancy*  
of clear Understandings,  
than the *Iron band* of

## *The Epistle*

terrible *Necessity*, which was *Mr. Clifford's Case*, till by the Mediation, and prevalent Influence of your Lordship, his (before) narrow Salary, as Master of *Sutton's Hospital*, was enlarged; and consequently, by this my *Apology* for him, I have happily gotten opportunity of presenting the best *Sacrifice* I could, of Gratitude for him and my self. If *then*  
what

## *Dedictory.*

what is here advanc'd,  
shall happen to please  
your Lordship; I may  
rationally conclude, it  
will not displease the *most*  
*Discerning* and *Virtuous*  
*part* of the *English Na-*  
*tion*; so worthy an E-  
steem it has, of whatever  
Action does any way ap-  
pear considerably good  
in your opinion; because  
your Soul cannot own  
a *mean thing*, nor *unpro-*  
*fitable* to the Publick In-

*The Epistle, &c.*

terest. Pray therefore,  
Honourable Sir, be pleased to pardon this boldness of him, whose Design is, and has, for many years, been, only to let you know, he is, and from a true sense of Duty,

Your Lordships,

Most devoted, and most

London,

Octob. 1680.

Humble Servant,

*Albertus Warren.*

THE

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THE  
P R E F A C E.

**D**edications, and Prefaces to Books, seldom (if at all) used by the Ancients, though never so tempting or glorious; like the Bushes of our Taverns, which, unless answering the Readers or the Guests expectation, alwayes subject the Writers to Scorn or Ridicule, the Book-sellers to Repentance, and I the Vintners to Poverty: *am,*  
I am

## The Preface.

~~of which Effects, no Age has~~  
been more fertile than the Mo-  
dern; every Apology supposing  
a tincture of Guilt, and good  
Wine not needing a Garland:  
Therefore all that I dare to say  
here, is, That I have advised-  
ly done my utmost, to justify  
Mr. Clifford's Licens'd Pa-  
pers, in his Discourse of Hu-  
mane Reason, (which is the  
Gift of God, as well as Faith)  
in opposition to that Gentle-  
man, who, (to confess the  
truth) has as strongly and  
smartly as, I think, can be  
done, endeavour'd to expose  
our Author, not only as a bold  
and



## The Preface.

and weak man, but as pernicious in the consequence of his Arguments, to Men, as Christians and Subjects ; which Charge, if it had been true, I, that honour Truth, would never have oppos'd : but now, whether that Gentleman who wrote the Answer, or I, who reply, be in the wrong, ( for we cannot both be in the right ) others must judge ; or whether, which is possible, we have divided Truth betwixt us, 'tis not very considerable, if the standers by reap any profit by it, which was my aim, and, I hope, was his also. However,  
I am

## The Preface.

*I am apt to flatter my self as Victorious, from this Evidence, which no man can properly gainsay, that if Humane Reason were not experimentally found to be the supreme Arbitrator in all Appeals, and the true Allay to all the sensible priviledges of Beasts, then, Beasts, for ought we know, are more happy than men: for they can think, though not syllogize: then, I say, (bating Reason, which is our Light to judge of our Self-preservation by;) all Precepts impos'd by men in Power, must be swallow'd, though contrary to*

## The Preface.

to Peace, all Exhortations to Obedience, in order to Temporal or Eternal Happiness, must be unexaminable, and we had continued in a state of War; for no other tye could have oblig'd us to keep Covenant, when the Violation had appear'd more profitable; and then the Laws, which Necessity first begot, might have been truly said to be, in a great measure, (if they who made them did not pretend Reason) rather traps to get money from honest men, than design'd to continue Peace: and though with me, the Publick Reason shall

## The Preface.

shall alwayes be very Sacred ;  
yet I hope to wish for, or  
propound the Rationability, of  
either the Explanation, or Cor-  
rection of some Laws strain-  
able, and strain'd by hot men,  
and, possib'y, ignorant'y zea-  
lous, or ill men, for their pri-  
vate Interests, beyond, if not  
contrary to, the intent of for-  
mer Legislators, in Times of  
other Complexions, will never  
be, by any true English-man,  
and wise, objected to me as  
Criminal : especially at this  
time, when some Tools, (made  
when the Times requir'd them)  
have their Edges turn'd by  
ac-

## The Preface.

accident against many quiet, though, probably misguided, Dissenters, to the pleasant humouring of that Classis of men amongst us, whom both his Majesty, and his Great Counsel, have declar'd, we have reason to suspect, and prepare against, as our Enemies: though, 'tis plain, that the Bigots on all sides, and on our Dissenters also, have made moderate Men, and true Lovers of their King and Countrey, uneasie; which ugly Fever, next malignant, if the Reason of the Seat of Power cannot Remedy, we shall  
be

## The Preface.

*be in great danger, lest that  
Mischief may return, which a  
Great Man, not long since, ho-  
nestly deprecated, in words to  
this Effect, viz. It were strange,  
if We should be twice un-  
done by the same Method,  
which God forbid : and eve-  
ry good Subject, by being qui-  
et in his Station, ought to  
endeavour to prevent. In the  
mean time, 'tis better to  
examine, and consult the  
Reason of things, than by  
trusting to any Book ( not  
Sacred ) to be sily Cully'd  
into affected, and unnecessa-  
ry Zeal, or foolish Atheism,  
which*

## The Preface.

*which will, if it increase over-much, vainly project to invalidate, not only the King's, but higher Evidence: nor do I know a better Method of Cure, (relating to those Fears and Jealousies, which, perhaps are now less terrible to some good men) than a close retirement to Reason; nor better Advice for Individuals, when they do go to Law, than to consult that generally Learned and Old Serjeant, who is reported wittily to have answered a Client lately, That he thought his Case was good, but could not*

## The Preface.

not be positive, unless he knew the Judge : *which shrewd, yet ingenious Opinion, may stand for a celebrated Precedent, and is as reasonable for us to admire, as it was for the Worthy man to give : and if it were truly ascrib'd to that prodigious Master of Law, and consequently of Humane Reason, it clearly shews, 'tis generally safer for a man to trust to his Natural Reason, than to be guided by Books ; which are the Counters of Wise men, but the Money of Fools : For, though Error be*  
a!



## The Preface.

*almost as old as Truth, and he that in the Gospel ask'd what Truth was, would not stay for an Answer, and that Infidelity, after due search, yet disconviction, may seem no Crime, there is left to us poor mortals no imaginable Cure for that Evil, nor a more proper Antidote for to prevent the Debauchery of this conceited Age, than to study the excellency of Humane Reason, which will lead us to confess, believe and obey the Commands of the Giver thereof. And this great Truth is that, which, according to my capacity, I have, in the following*

## The Preface.

ing Discourse, illustrated, not by quoting of particular Books, (tho the chiefest are wholly on my side, that way being a little out of fashion) but by familiar and known Instances, and whereof, the Reader may easily judge, without trouble or charge: and I have declined to say any thing (as foreign to my Apology) in Answer to some other Papers, Printed since the Answer, call'd Plain Dealing) about the Abuse of Humane Reason; because 'tis well known, the wickedness of man's heart has alwayes been too ready to abuse God's chiefest Blessings unto  
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## The Preface.

wantonness, which does not take off from the Excellency of the Gift : on the other side, we are commanded to offer up to God our Reasonable Service, and if Faith were contrary to Reason, no body could believe at all ; nay, to speak freely, tho Faith may be above it, yet few men, without special and particular Revelation, have hitherto believ'd the truth of Canonical Scripture, upon any other Conviction, but Tradition & Comparison, which cannot be done without Reason. As for External Obedience to Humane Powers, which is a great part of  
man's

## The Preface.

*man's Duty, no man ( as Christian ) ever pretended hitherto to be warranted therein, but by considering of it as a general Duty, where such Commands do not contradict the Divine Precept : so that still it is Reason which must shew him such contradiction ; and therefore, till any man can shew us a Safer Guide, the point is, if not absolutely gained, yet all pretences of a safer Guide must be look'd upon as very fallible.*

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A N  
A P O L O G Y  
F O R  
Humane Reason.

**I**F for no other Cause, yet for this, that 'tis more generous to vindicate the Dead, where the Living are concern'd in the impressions of Envy upon their silent Ashes, than to comply with the Humours of our Dearest Relations; and especially, where Truth is like to suffer by our silence; I have adventur'd to publish this small Piece, for the Justification of Mr. *Clifford's* Excellent Treatise, Entituled *Humane Reason*, by way of Reply to that Gent. who wrote the Answer, call'd

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Plain

*Plain Dealing*, without assigning any Reasons why this was not published till now, having been written at Mr. *Clifford's* desire, who dyed soon after.

Pursuant therefore to my Title Page, as to the Countrey Gentleman's pretty Story of his travelling and enquiring of a lusty Fellow the way to the next Town, and of his direction, ( after wise circumspection ) to go by the Esquire's House ; I am oblig'd to say, the Folly lay in the Enquirer, who might, with the same Breath, have ask'd, on which hand, or whether right on, the House stood : but it seems the *Queen of Waters* had too much influenc'd his upper Garret, being as much out of his Wits, as out of his Way.

But I'll be charitable, only craving leave to infer, it is more than probable, his narrow Collegiate Education ( a thing often fatal to good Wits ) hath a little blown him up, and consequently expos'd him to the Character of Pedantry ; otherwise, had he consulted, more coolly our Learned Author's very generous Design, and observ'd how ge-  
neral

neral an Applause that which he terms a little *Pamphlet*, hath worthily had here at *London*, from the best Persons, as to Understanding, he would have been more civil to the Writer, and more cautious in his Censures; unless it be grown a Fashion at *Cambridge* to make up defects of Reasoning with Clamour or Impertinency: if that be the Mode there, or if it be not, the Gentleman's Design is equally defeated; for even in the Conduct of it, he hath yielded up the Palm to our Author, as having made use of what way he conceived most rational to confute him.

However, the *Gent.* saith, and truly, that all which the Author hath said amounteth to no more than this, *that every man must follow right Reason, which is his direct way*; whither? to his proposed End; and what's that? he hath told him, to Happiness; but he urgeth, that he who doth not before hand know wherein right Reason doth consist (as most Mankind doth not) will, saith the *Gent.* be as much to seek in his way, notwithstanding the *Author's* Directi-

ons ( which are, *that a man should use those Directions with Care and Constancy which Reason affordeth* ) as he himself was, not knowing whereabouts the Esquire's House was, whereunto his wife Guide directed him.

To all which the Answer is at hand, and easie ; for if the way to Happiness be no otherwise to be found out and attained, than by an orderly pursuance of Virtue, ( which the *Gent.* will not deny ) then to live virtuously is to live Rationally ; consequent whereunto, it appeareth, that to use Reason, is no other, than to be obedient to the *Divine Law*, of which if any man be ignorant, in Christ'ndom, either he doth not follow Reason's guidance, or is a Fool, by reason of some Defect in his Natural Organs.

The *Gent.* granteth, that *by reason of the intricacies of the way to Happiness, to choose the right paths, and then to guide our selves therein, we had need of a better Eye-sight than is left us by the Fall of our First-father* ; but quarrelleth that the *Author*, after all Considerations, assigneth



eth no other Guide than Reason, and pretendeth not to understand how that can be ; nay, he putteth his Life upon it to *verifie his ignorance* ; for he knoweth of no other Guide left unto us, after the Fall but Humane Reason ; concluding, that the *Author*, by telling us *we had need of a better Guide*, hath confuted his whole Book : for then we have need of a better Guide than Humane Reason, and this the *Gent.* calleth the coming out of Truth in spite of the *Author's* teeth.

The onely Question here is, what those Directions are which a man's Reason ought to take, before, and in his Journey to Happiness : for the *Author* told the *Gent.* *Reason would do it, if it took right Directions*, which the *Gent.* somewhat silyly pretermitteth in his disingenuous and carping Inference ; I say, what those Directions are, and really, I ( after having consider'd the great truth of the Assertion ) do more admire the *Gentleman's* blindness, than he himself can be pleas'd with what he hath written : for, that the *Author* intended

by right Directions, Tradition, is obvious to any indifferent Reader ; which is, a due consideration of the History of God's Providence, his Love, Promises, and Performances : but, lest the *Gent.* should still be obliged to rejoin that I also have left him in the dark, I make this Explanation of what I think the *Author* meant by the other Guide, which was, that after the Laws of Nature, the only Rule, for ought appeareth, afforded by God to govern the World by, for some thousands of years, at first, became either neglected, or forgotten. *Moses* was commanded to publish the Decalogue, and some other Laws, partly repeating the Laws of Nature, and, in part, superadding, upon the Complexion of all which, and of Christ our Saviour, we have rationally inform'd our selves of the Way to Happiness.

As to what the *Gent.* saith of our bruise in our Reason upon the Fall of *Adam*, that it cannot now take directions fit for our Journey, and that it is a Supposition as improbable, as to assume, that if the Sky falleth we shall catch

catch Larks, I think the *Simile* Ridiculous: I am sure it is improper, and shall only desire to be resolved by him, if Reason be not the most probable way to Happiness, what is? But we come now, having pass'd all his Out-guards, to his main Posts, upon the Front whereof he boldly pretendeth to prove, that the *Author's* Assertions are impracticable, and destructive to all Arts, Orders, and Corporate Societies of men; taking a Leap from the Happiness there intended by the Author, after this Life, head and shoulders, into the Politick Interests and Concerns in this World, which, how foreign soever to the Author's Design in that place ( though afterwards considered by him ) I intend to refute in every Instance worthy my consideration.

The first Instance the *Gent.* giveth is this, that if every man must make Use of no other Guide but his own Reason ( suppose in Cases which concern his Life and Estate ) and must take Directions from himself only, ( which the *Author* hath not yet said ) the honourable

able Professions of Physick and Law would be useless; and that it is impossible Private men should understand so well those things as the Professors thereof. I answer, That the Use of Temperance hath preserved, and still doth preserve, many in constant Health; that Laws are begotten and continued most-what from the Vices of men; but because some are either from the Infirmities of their Parents, their own Constitutions, or other accidental Causes, valetudinary, Reason teacheth men to find out proper Remedies by Physick, and it is only Reason which teacheth men the Use of it, or to apply to such other Persons as they suppose can ease their Distempers; which also instructeth others to apply themselves to such Lawyers for Advice, whose proper Study it is: not but that Rational men have a great deal of Law in themselves; so the particular Persons in each Science being chosen by Reason of man's own, or by the Advice of some others upon whose Judgment they depend, it cannot thence be supposed, that the exercise of Reason

son is any way destructive to either of those two honourable Sciences.

But, saith the *Gent.* this also holdeth as to Divinity, for if men were as careful of their Souls as of their Bodies and Estates, they would, in all difficulties of Conscience, take the Advice of Divines, as frequently as of the Judge and Doctor in Cases proper to them; and then concludeth, we must not be governed by our own Reason (exclusively taken from all other helps) for this would destroy all the Chief Professions of the Nation; we might pull down all our Inns of Courts and Chancery, all Colleges, the Charter-house, the Royal Society, and all Schools of Learning; and that it would destroy all Laws and Order, if every man, with the *Author*, were resolved to have no other Guide than his own Reason, which the *Author* never said.

A Charge with a witness, but let us examine it a little: the *Gent.* complaineth of men's not being careful to advise with Divines in difficulties of Conscience: As to the point of Conscience, I

presume every Sober man doth or should advise himself, and can finally have no other Adviser: (yet not exclusive of others Advice, and of others Reason) for the *Author* never said so, but on the contrary, told us of fit helps for Reason's Assistance, and surely Advice must be one of them. If the *Gent.* mean about matters of Faith, *which is but Reason rectify'd*, the Assent any man giveth to any Proposition of that kind, must be from Causes, otherwise he believeth he knoweth not what, nor why; who can believe so? Now I think there are very few men of Understanding but do, one time or other, consult with others about their Scruples of Conscience, or at least, their Consciences were not fixt to any Credentials without Observation, Advice, or Reading; however, I know no Law of God or Man which obligeth me to be totally govern'd in my Conscience by any particular *Classis* of men, now in Being upon Earth: If I am satisfy'd, it is well with me, having used all Rational means to satisfy myself; and I wish it were not true which  
the

the Judicious *Author* hath observed, viz. that if men had used their own Reasons, so many had not been mis-led by the Errors and Deceits of others: And as to the other Point, of taking direction from a Judge, the *Gent.* speaks without Reason; for he is to know, that for any Judge to speak extrajudicially, is, many times, Criminal in the Judge, and uncivil in him that desireth his Opinion; and for that Inference, as if the Use of Reason would dissolve Orders and Bodies Politick, it is a *non sequitur*; for all Rational Persons are presum'd to know, their Constitutions are founded upon Reason and Law; and it is for the interest and safety of the Members to obey their Superiours; because their Disobedience naturally begets Exclusion: so far is any thing, or all the *Gent.* hath objected against the reliance upon Reason, been from proving it destructive, or prejudicial to any of those Noble Professions, as it appears it is the onely thing which fortifies and consolidateth them, or all Artificial Corporate Bodies whatsoever.

The

The next thing the *Gent.* objecteth is, that the Author hath said, *They that dispute against Reason, do it because their own Reason persuadeth them to that Belief, &c.* and this he calls, Ironically, a *killing Argument*. But for the Truth of it, I appeal to every man's Reason. *viz.* If I dispute against any Proposition, either I do it really, or feignedly; if feignedly, it's idle, if really, is it not, because I conceive it irrational? neither can the *Gentleman's* Instance help him out, which is, (and he borrowed it out of *Mr. Chillingworth*) that though Reason must direct us to the Rule by which we are to act, yet when we have found out such a Rule, as our Reason assureth us is infallible, we ought no longer to govern our selves by our bare Reason, but by our Reason guided by that Rule, and to act such things (not that Reason doth direct but such) as our infallible Rule doth command us; so that we see (saith he) that Reason is so far from being our Guide, that it directly leadeth us to the Scripture, and leaveth us to be directed by it, by which, it confesseth, it self ought to be guided. It



It is very well, the *Gent.* hath confest that *Reason must direct us to the Rule*, but stay the Bells; Sir, when I come thither, how shall I understand to take my Measures by that Rule? that is, how shall I use it, if Reason do not still direct me: For the Question is not amongst Christians, whether the Scripture be true or no; but this, what the meaning is of particular Texts therein: or if any man can shew me any other way to understand it but Reason, I shall be very thankful; if then there be no other way but the Mediation of Reason, Reason, and bare Reason, is to be followed: *Which Demonstrative Method, lately generally embrac'd by the most Learned Divines in London and elsewhere, hath, certain I am, brought more Fixation upon men's Spirits to Truth, than all the Canting of many years before, if I should say many Ages, it were no Hyperbole.*

This may serve for Explication of the *Author*, and to exempt him from the Aspersions which the *Gentleman* endeavourerh to cast upon him; as if his Design had been to deter any man from  
con-

conforming to the Church of *England*; because, if it be rational to comply, he that doth not, being convinc'd, it is so, is brutish; and he that doth it unconvinc'd, is an Hypocrite: but if any Dissenter whatsoever, from the Church, have collected other things than the Book will bear, it is not the Fault of the *Author*, but the Ignorance of the Collector.

Here I might add the inestimable Benefit accruing to all rational men in those vast Tracts of Land where the Scripture was never publisht, and where, probably, the very Name of Christ is unknown, from their natural and instinctive Adorations of a Deity, whereunto, and consequently to Morality, very Reason doth invite.

And I could wish the *Gent.* who pretendeth so much to civil Education, and to be so dutiful a Son of the Church, would be a little more charitable to men of tender Consciences, who cannot conform, without offering Violence to their Reasons; for that, it was not long since, a very great Politician, and rational

onal man said, *There is nothing which is not made necessary by Divine Precept, but is eligible.*

But saith the *Gent.* I would have the *Author*, when he writeth next, shew us more of his honesty, though less of his Ingenuity: how that Confession of the Authors Ingenuity doth consist with the *Gentleman's* often future Endeavour to expose him to the Censure of Folly, though weakly enough, God knoweth, will appear afterwards in this Reply; for like the good Cow that spills her Milk with her Heels, he immediately repenteth of the Character, so giv'n to the *Author*, of Ingenuity, by telling of us, he is resolved Step by Step to lead us out of those Errors, which the Treatise of Humane Reason hath lead us into, by shewing us the way back again, by the same Steps we were first led into them.

And I am resolv'd to follow the *Gent.* till he looseth himself, or meets with some *Ignis fatuus*, and there it will be fit for me in all our March, ever to retire to my Center, which is Reason, whose Guide

Guide if I follow, I am sure to be very near the Road unto Happiness, this being, I think, taking of things by the right Handle.

And now the *Author* answering the Objection supposable, viz. *That many of the greatest Wits, by following their own Opinions, have encreased the Catalogue of Heresies, thus, that those men either followed not their own Reason, but their Wills, or first budwinckt their Reason by Interest, Prejudice or Passion; escapes the Gentleman's Censure, it is very well, how then? What shall we think of that frightful Word Heresie, Which the Scripture hath not defin'd, that one Church calleth Piety, another Impiety, which must be in the World, and which hath occasion'd the Effusion of so much Christian blood, but this, that the Tares must grow up with the Wheat till the time of Harvest; and that Experience hath more than once, made it evident, that men of fiery and blind Zeal, have, for haste, pluckt up the Wheat also?*

But

But the *Gent.* groweth angry with the *Author*, for saying it is no great matter for falling into *Heresies* (so called) by the *Weakness* of their understandings, for they are neither hurtful to themselves, nor others: and,

I cannot choose but add Coals to his Wrath, being of the *Author's* Mind as understanding nothing else by the Term *Heresie*, but Opinion, for how can it hurt others, what I think? Nor my self, for I do nothing which I can avoid, while I think so, as the last Dictate of my Understanding; and when I am convinc'd by Reason, I must think and believe otherwise.

Ay! But saith the *Gent.* is it not the best way for the Magistrate, since the Number of Fools exceedeth the Wise in Number, by Penalties to restrain these Fools within the Pale of the Church, thereby to prevent *Heresyes*, Irreligion, and Atheism? *Grotius* was of another Opinion, and I believe ten parts of twelve in *London* are of Opinion, that to punish for a bare Opinion, is something against the Hair, and abhorrent to the  
English

*English* Nation ; indeed it is not practicable now here, nor consistent with Trade which is preferable much to the Humour of a few violent men.

Nor do I believe Irreligion getteth any Ground by the Peoples not conforming, nor Immorality neither ; for they that do but pretend to Religion, are for the most part, careful (at least outwardly) to appear honest men.

Probably, it were better in several considerable respects , if the People would conform, but it will not do, nor is it, some think, as of absolute necessity for the Peace of *England*, nor for any individual Mans Salvation, unless he doth believe himself oblig'd in Conscience to conform.

But the *Gent.* is displeas'd highly with the *Author*, for saying, *That every man's Soul hath so much Light in it self, as is requisite for it's Travel towards Heaven, apprehending it to be down-right Pelagianism.*

I am perswaded, *Pelagius* is not very well understood, but what if it be *Pelagius* his Opinion ? If it be Truth it is

not

not the worse for being his Opinion.

Certainly, every man is capable to consider God, as in the course of Nature, which is the way he is pleas'd to govern the World by, in the Scripture, which is the History of the divine Providence, and his Duty, and the Consequence of Sin: Why is it not then proper to say, every man hath so much Light in his Soul, as will lead him to Happiness? (for I take Light, Reason, and Conscience to be the same thing) so that notwithstanding the Gentleman's Objection, the Text standeth impreguably firm.

And seriously, methinks the Gentleman trifles, in excepting at the Author, who saith, *That we must search for Truth in the Center of our selves; it being an Assertion worthily memorable from so judicious a man.*

Where should we search for Truth but in our Hearts, which is the Center? and it is the Heart God requireth.

Let men be of what Persuasion soever, make what Pretences soever of never so much

much Christianity or Morality, (which goes very far) is not Truth in the Center? Do not the Pretenders know, whether they are cordially religious, or whether they lay on that only as a *Fucus* for Interest sake? But I pass on.

The next Accusation which the *Gent.* bringeth against the Author is, that he endeavoureth to shift off the third Objection, calling it the most tragical Argument against him, which is, *That an universal Liberty of particular mens Discourses, would beget as many Religions, as there are men, and would be inconsistent with the Peace of all Societies.* The Author's Answer to the said Objection being in the Negative, and proving it from the Examples of different Sects of Philosophers; for, saith he, *There were not fewer Sects in Athens, than in Amsterdam or London; and yet this Variety of Opinions neither begat any civil War in Greece, neither was there any Inquisition nor high Commission to prevent them.*

If the *Gent.* did not forget his Promise of leading us out of all those Errours the  
*Author*



Author (as he pretended) leads us into, I believe he would have disproved it by a more pregnant Instance, than that out of *Josephus*, about *Apollonius Molon's* inveighing against *Plato* (who commanded the Citizens to persist in the unalterable Obedience to their Laws and against the not retaining in his Country, men of strange Opinions or Religion; the Gentleman telling of us, *Apollonius* was ignorant of the *Athenian* Constitutions, but how he could be ignorant of them, and yet inveigh against them for not admitting such men of strange Opinions and Religion, I cannot imagine, nor by what figure that Slip is to be made good.

I believe there was amongst the *Grecians* (as there is now amongst us *Christians*, of other matters) various Disputes touching the Souls of men, viz. whether they are præexistent, traductive and mortal, or eternal? of the *summum bonum*, about the *Pythagorean Metempsychosis*, of the Nature of *Demons*, the Seat of the Passions, the Origine and Nature of good and evil: whether the highest Power (God) did sit  
maje-

majestically idle, or did providentially govern sublunary Affairs? whether the World were eternal or no? and many such; but I never heard or read of any (besides *Diagoras* and *Protagoras*,) who were taken notice of for absolute Atheists of old, and who were therefore worthily condemned for that irrational Opinion: and it is very well known, what Ages passed away in those kind of innocent Altercations, before ever the name of Christ (at least before his Doctrine) was known in Greece: neither is it impertinent to our Subject, to insinuate, that the Crime objected against Christians, was not, at first, for worshipping Christ, but because men gave *Him* Divine Honours, who was not by the *Roman* Senate enrolled amongst the rest of their Dieties.

Certain it is, where the Law is silent, men have Liberty, and so they had in Greece (at *Athens* and elsewhere) therefore, till the Gentleman doth shew us any positive Law there, forbidding Disputes about Divine matters (every Poet there, feigning Romances about their Gods,

Gods, and yet the wisest amongst the *Grecians* confessing and believing one Supream Power) the *Author's* Instance standeth firm. What Liberty *Tamerlane* gave, as to particular Modes of Worship, so men did acknowledge and believe in one God, is well known; and that the *Turks*, at this day, permit men to enjoy their general Liberty in Worship, so they do not interrupt theirs: whence a great Argument may be drawn, by supposing it to have been not the least Means to support the Force, Peace and Grandeur of that Empire: so that every Society or Kingdom in the World, doth (not to speak of the *Low Countries*) not impose severely merely for Opinions in religious matters, no, nor for the variety of external Worships, so men obey, as good Subjects, in all other things.

But saith the *Gent.* Christians ought not to follow such Examples, if any such have been or are, because we have a positive and stated Religion given us by God, in a most clear and infallible Revelation, which our Governours ought to establish and maintain, and there-

therefore men must be restrain'd from discoursing, else there would be as many Religions as there are men; and so saith he, the *Author's* Argument remaineth as Tragical as ever it did. This is indeed a very Tragical Story, to say, *Men ought not not to be restrain'd from discoursing.*

I am satisfied we have Religion well stated here, but for all that, we do not pretend to infallibility; wherefore, for us to impose, being our selves fallible, is a little severe: as to the *Romanists*, they have something more colour, they pretending to Infallibility; though it was not because of their pretence to Infallibility we left them, but 'twas principally, because they set the *Miter* above the *Crown*: See the Laws, and the Reason of them: but the truth is, that Disease of, at least, equalling the Miter with the Crown, doth, some suppose, still affect all those who pretend something like a Title to their Commission without the Law, which no wise Divine will do: be it how it will, there is, nevertheless, a  
great

great Latitude for Reason to discourse, without offering Violence to any Article of our Faith: and if I do believe any Article to be true, either from Tradition, or from Education; yet, if another can handsomly make it appear, it is otherwise rational for me to believe it, I shall believe it upon a more strong Motive.

And as to the *Gentleman's* terming the Author's Assertion, a sly Insinuation, which was, *That the Stoicks themselves, who enslaved the Will, did never offer Violence to the Understanding*; I suppose it not at all sly, but true, and proper: for they had more Wit than to think the Understanding could be violently impos'd on, any other way than by Reason; they meaning, as we do, that the Will must necessarily follow the last Dictate of the Understanding, that is, of the considerative Faculty; so the Will is not, cannot be compell'd.

Let the Gentleman shew us, if he can, that the *Author* hath any where said, the Church of *England* goeth about to enslave our Understandings, (but a

gall'd Horse back is soon hurt) if he cannot shew it, why doth he ask that Question of the *Author*, whether he doth or no? What then, hath the *Author* done, or written shamefully, to forfeit the Title of an *English Gent.*? to prove he hath ( a strange Proof ) done something meriting that Degradation, the *Gent.* insisteth upon the Obscurity of page the 12. and 13. of the *Author's* Book; an obscure Proof, scarce able to satisfy any Jury: as if from those pages, the *Author* seems to deserve the Loss of his Spurs, and the *Gent's*. Exoration to the *Author*, is, that he would, upon his Reputation, discover whether the Church of *England* be there meant or no? I do not understand that there's any Necessity in point of Reputation, to accuse a man's self: let those who are disturb'd blow the Coal first; this is a pretty Low, not an High Commission Court, but like it.

Certainly, it had been more ingenuous (if he had not mistaken the *Handle*) for the *Gent.* to have manifested to the Reader, what was justly exceptionable in

in these two pages; but he taketh another Course, and seems to hold it for granted, the *Author* meant the Church of *England*: I know not how to judge of an Author's meaning, but by his words, and they must be these in the 12 page; viz. *That the greatest Inconveniences, (meaning Vexatious and troublesome Heats) hindring Peace every where, have been begotten from the strange and uncharitable Pride of those men, who (having justly vindicated their own Reason, from the Tyranny of unnecessary Bonds) endeavour, nevertheless, to impose upon others: so that, not the use of such Liberty, but the appropriating it to our selves only, is the sole Fountain of these Disorders. That this is true, who is so blind, but may observe? and that it is applicable, especially to such, who study all imaginable ways to punish men who dissent, and cannot comply to their so much extoll'd, but alterable external Worship, which is, at least would be, very prejudicial to Trade, if the Rigour of Law did run with a fierce Current, I say Trade and Commerce; and how one Trade dependeth*

upon another, I suppose the *Gent.* little considers.

Now as to what the *Auth r* saith, *That some Errors are the inseparable Companions of Humane Nature*; a Tincture of self Opinion, being in most men, which Reason ought to correct; I think it was no great Crime to say so.

And to give the *Gentleman* his due, it was none of his least Policies, silently to pass by the Author's, never to be enough commended, words *pag. the 14. of his Book*, which are, *that all the Miseries which have follow'd the Variety of Opinions, since the Reformation, have proceeded entirely from these two Mistakes, viz. the tying of Infallibility to whatsoever we think Truth, and Damnation to whatsoever we think Error: a most uncharitable Method to Judge by, I leave the Readers to consider who are guilty.*

But the *Gent.* will never leave beating upon the old String, that the Church punisheth none for Error, unless it be accompany'd with Contumacy, and Contempt of Authority.

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He meaneth, unless the parties refuse to do as she would have them externally, or shall discourse any thing repugnant to her Doctrines ; but I think, this is another Error inseparably accompanying humane Nature, (if it be an Error) for who can be contented to run on in the Course of his Life under the Umbrage of an implicate Faith, which the *Gent.* labours to infuse every where, though under other more specious Pretexts : whereas 'tis apparent, cool and rational men, do soonest obey and conform every where.

I wish heartily, those men whom our Law intrusteth with the Power of Excommunication, were more careful upon what Grounds that now contemned (but of old Solemn) Exclusion should be issued out ; for familiar Storms fright little.

Next, as to what the *Gent.* inserteth, that the *Author* might have spar'd his Discourse about the Causes of so much bloodshed since the Reformation, I wish it had not been true ; and the *Gent.* must give me Leave, for this once, to mind

him, that while he so confidently excuseth the Church of that Crime, and all her true Sons thereof, he forgot that haughty Bishop, which I suppose he will grant, was a legitimate Son of the Church, who, in our late civil Wars, having deserted the Royal side, defended, with Arms, a Castle against his Sovereign's Forces: and it is yet fresh in Memory, how much blood was spilt in the Low Countries in the sixty years War 'twixt *Spain* and the *Dutch*, and upon what Cause; let the *Gent.* consider it, and the direful Effects of the Scottish Covenant, but I stop here. *Heret lethalis arando.*

Then, for what is presently objected against the *Author's* peaceable Doctrine, pag. 11. & 12. viz. That to permit different Beliefs would take away all Occasions of Quarrels, when both he himself is suffered to enjoy his own Opinion; and his own Opinion is this, that he ought to suffer others to do the same: This, I say, is perverted by the Gentleman, for the *Author* only speaketh of Opinions, not of Practises disturbing the publick Peace,  
for

for that they may be justly punished for breaking the Peace, was never deny'd; but that the Difference in Opinion must necessarily beget Disturbances against the publick Peace, is, *de facto*, inconsequent from many years Experience in *England*, of late: so that the Peace being unbroken, and all Obedience yielded to every Command, which is not about Conformity ecclesiastical, they that shall unseasonably, against the most general Inclination of the People, actually disturb the Dissenters in their respective Exercises of their Consciences, are more likely to break the Peace, than the Dissenters who keep it; and I say, are oblig'd, in point of Interest, to keep it; that is, in Respect of Trade, the main thing.

That the Papists do promote a general Toleration of all Opinions in Religion, I believe, nor can any man blame them, it being their Interest, that way, to shroud themselves from the Rigor of the Laws.

But for the Presbyterians, who alone (it is said) are so fierce, that they will

abate nothing, by their good wills, of their endless Ambition to get power to prosecute others; I suppose their Zeal over-boiling, and really they are too blame if they do so.

I could never think any man, very eager for External Ceremonies, which is but the shell of Religion, wise, therefore (and I blush to name it) far more those of *New England* were too blame, for their barbarous Cruelty in destroying some Dissenters there; since the very Original Grant from the Crown did express the Royal condescensions to have been for the ease of their Consciences who at first transplanted themselves thither.

*Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum?*

Nor do I think it impertinent to insert that single Argument of *Grotius*, who I named before, to prove the irrationality of any other, as well as of Sanguinary Punishments, for a bare Opinion: I say that single Argument, but a good one, from the Example of the  
*Jews*

*Jews* permission of the *Sadduces*, not only to enjoy the liberty of their Opinion, so contrary to what was the Natural Religion, but also to enjoy Judicial Places amongst them.

The next thing considerable is, the Gentleman's huffing at the Author for his Answer to this Objection presuppos'd by himself, viz. *That if we guide our selves by our own Reasons, we shall differ from our selves as well as others, and change our Religion as often as our Habits; unto which the Answer is given in the Text; That he cannot conceive the fear of this Scandal obligeth us to a blind, unalterable obedience to those Laws and Opinions, to which either the Fate of our Birth and Education, or other Accidents have engaged us: and this is called obscure and impertinent by the Gent.* How the Author is guilty of both at once here I cannot imagine, for it is very confessedly plain, our Birth and Education do most times ingage us in our Religion: where's the Obscurity? and it is accounted Scandalous to change our Religion above once, at least, that is

plain; and that we are not obliged to a blind, unalterable obedience about outward Forms, is also reasonable to say for any Protestant, which non-obligation the Gent. also agreeth is unnecessary.

And I will admit the Gent. saith well, that it becometh every Separator from the Church of *England* to inform himself from his own Reason, and from the Reason of others, especially from his Lawful Minister, ( I loving to hear the word Lawful in this case ) whether she doth injoyne him any thing that is sinful in it self; and if he cannot find her guilty of any such Command, then his Separation can no wayes be excusable either before God or Men, for it is mere Obstinacy.

But what if after all these Enquiries and Consultations with others, mine own Reason ( that is my Conscience ) does inform me, it is not lawful to obey her Commands, must I violate that Light? Surely the Gent. will not persuade me to do so, if he doth, I shall and ought to deny his Rhetorick; for  
he

he is to know, it is sinful for me to act without Faith, and if I do not believe it Lawful, and yet do it for Fear or Interest, it is not onely sinful, but argues a Servile and degenerous Spirit. And though I may think there ought to be some visible Judge of these things, that is, either the Pope, or my particular Sovereign, or those he appointeth; yet at last, my own Reason, you may call it Conscience or Light within, will be my Judge do what I can.

And now, as to the Reasons and Causes which moved some, upon the Act of Distinguishment, to take the Sacrament, and yet to refuse hearing of our Liturgy; which Refusal the *Gent.* instanceth and calleth a great Sin; tho' it concerneth not the *Author nor me* neither, and was drawn in by the *Gent.* after his Custom of abounding in his own Sallyes: yet I shall adventure to say, from an-unexceptionable Authority, viz. *Bishop Andrews*, that *de modo*, of Understanding the Subistence of Christ in the Sacrament, it was never disputed till some Centuries after his Ascension, and is not

not considerable; which satisfy'd a very learned King of our own, and many, the most authentick learned Protestants besides: that, to wit, it is enough if a man, after due Preparation, take it reverentially in Obedience to Christs Command, and live, after the taking of it, like a true Christian, holily and virtuously, as aware, and minding the damnable Consequences of returning to Impiety, and the great Assurance by hope of the Benefit, accruable from future Obedience, all which Complexion and Satisfaction to Protestants depended, and still doth depend upon the Reasonableness of the Bishop's Argument, where I leave it.

From whence I proceed to observe, what an huge Crime the *Gent.* maketh it, in the Author, for saying, *A man may be a Papist at one time, and seven years after a Protestant, and yet the Faith of the Party so changing, may remain the same: for that, saith the Author, It is all the while actuated by the same Soul of Faith, which is Conscience; presuming, that both when he was a Papist, and when he is*



is a Protestant, he may truly say, with these Eyes I shall behold my Saviour. But I answer, If it be a Crime to change from Popery to Protestantism upon rational Conviction, it wanteth a name; and that great Witt *Chillingworth*, was mistaken who was induced so to change alternately (for he was first a Protestant, then a Papist, and lastly a Protestant, and so died) he alledging Reason always to be the Cause of his Changes, but certainly, it was Reason (with its due helps) which urged him to change: *that Chillingworth*, who out-witted the most learned Romanists, putting them to Silence, 'twas he who first (after Sir *Walter Raleigh* began and was stopt by Queen *Elizabeth* upon an Insinuation that it would bring in Atheism, *Cujus contrarium verum est*) from rational Inferences made it evident, that insignificant, scholastick Velitations, were too weak to hold sagacious men in that blind Obedience, which had long muzzl'd the greatest part of *Europe*: wherefore unless the *Gent.* be of opinion, that any Power upon Earth is entit'led from above,

above to subject us to an unalterable Obedience to Ecclesiastical Sanctions, *which is to admit one universal, visible Monarch Ecclesiastical*: or if the *Romanists* have all truth, though superadding many unnecessary things, and probably, impure: I say, if the Learned cannot agree, then it is very charitable to conclude, men that are actuated by Conscience to Holiness, while on one side or other, may be in a salvable Condition. I cannot think otherwise, than that the Question at the last day shall not be, whether I have lived allways a Protestant, or allways a Papist? whether I have been an high Churchman, a *Latitudinarian*, or a Dissenter? but whether I have lived holily, and have used all rational ways to inform my Understanding of the Truth expressed in Scripture and Nature? which is to pursue the main end of my Creation; it necessarily begetting a rational Adoration towards God, and Duty towards men. Which last (that is, the Observation of the second Table) is so indispensibly necessary, that if there were neither God nor Devil, Heaven  
the

nor Hell, it is most undenyably true, the World could not stand without the Observation thereof, and was worthily intimated by the judicious *Raleigh*.

And if I should suppose this Plaster, as the *Gent.* calleth it, will serve an Heathen's turn, under invincible Ignorance, (as to the truth of the Scripture, which he never heard of) yet living according to the Light of Nature, I do not think it amiss (charitably) to suppose he may be saved.

But for that idle Question of the Gentleman's to the *Author*, whether he thinketh an erroneous Conscience shall excuse a man from all Crimes whatsoever, it is scarce worth answering: for as much as every sober man will grant it to be impossible for him who followeth the Dictates of Reason, to be advisedly wicked, Conscience being, without all doubt, an act of Reason or Intellect, (not a habit) it is always a Judge, yet may err, as all other Judges: but it sits a-top, and is divine, therefore who resisteth it, resisteth his own Reason, and what is done against either, or without Faith, is Sin: what then is the best

*Medi-*

*Medium* to rectifie my Conscience which is erroneous? *Even the same way that I was lead into Errour, will bring me out of it, that is,* by giving my Reason its free Mediation without hudwinking of it, dazzling or strangling of it by implicate Faith, insignificant Terms, violent Distractions, and Prejudices, and Preoccupations, Pride, Interest, or other Vices, of all which pestilent Fevers, I can assign no other cause than the *Author* hath done already to my hand, which is the not giving Obedience to, and not exercising of that Light wherewith the infinite Goodness of God hath indued men as men.

However, certain it is, let a man (suppose him Christian) hold what Opinion he will (and we find as great Differences amongst the Learned as the Unlearned) if he followeth his Conscience, that is, his Reason, he shall at last, enjoy all the possible Advantage that Opinion can yield him, living morally virtuous: and that any Separatists amongst us (*in terminis*) do hold any Opinion, which doth necessarily exclude them  
from

from Salvation, through Christ, is more than, I believe, the *Gent.* can prove: and the Dissenters generally obeying all Laws besides the matters of Conformity to the external way of Worship, publicly commanded, and declaring it to be their Principle, (as I know, and they also, it is their Interest to obey in all other things) I presume to say, it seemeth not, that the Magistrate is obliged to vex and disturb so numerous a party of peaceable and considerable Persons, merely to gratifie a few in respect of the Whole; and further to alleviate the matter, we know very well, there is a Due to God, and a Due to *Cæsar*.

But to come closer to the Causes of Nonconformity of late years: it seemeth not the least, that it is contrary to the Principles of Many, nay most men's Education (in the *Southern* parts of *England*) all the times of the Civil Wars, other Opinions having gradually been intilled into them, and the Examples of their Parents and Masters confirming their Aversion to Conformity, or these Ministers or Heads of Parties, who pretended

tended to have a Call to instruct them; and whom they thought they had reason to believe, whence hath arisen that tenacity of Prejudice against our Church-Government; and it being grown a Chronical Distemper it is harder to be cured.

I may add the Act which ejected so many Ministers for Non abjuration of that lawless, (but nevertheless, as they were persuaded, obliging) Covenant, which produced Effects quite contrary to the Project of those, who so earnestly advanced it. For the People being in Love with the Plausibility of their Teachers, and their zealous Urgency to Strictness of Life, their Detestation of the *Roman* Church, by them call'd and believed to be idolatrous, and other captivating Insinuations, did really apprehend, upon their Pastors Leaving of the Pulpits, all Religion went away with them: who if they had stay'd there, would, in all Probability, have kept them closer, and whom they since either conscientiously followed to other Meetings, or, for want of being united as before, under

under some kind of Order, they moulder'd away into Indifferency, or other more wild Excursions.

And that these now last mentioned, which make up, or from whence are spawn'd, a very considerable part of Dissenters, do necessarily involve many others, in point of Interest depending upon them, to the Humour of Nonconformity, is easily conceivable; which humour (if it were no more at first) was easily cultivated by more subtle heads, into the reverend name of Conscience, and may gradually, possess the well-meaning part of these men into a real Belief, that to conform is sinful; where they must be left, till otherwise convinc'd, for Force will not do it, if Reason cannot.

I do freely confess, we are, at this hour, very happy in the admirable Learning and Virtues of many of our Clergy: and as for my self, I do say, That neither the length of our Service, my Love of Variety as an *Englishman*, nor being an Islander, nor the Vices of some Clergy-men, nor the Weakness of others,

others, nor Laziness of many, nor any Exceptions that can be taken against our Liturgy, either as to Matter or Form, seem, together, Ground enough to me for to leave going to hear the publick Service at Church; which *Calvin* did not dislike, who persuaded Bishop *Hooper* to Conformity, and which is so unanswerably defended by incomparable *Hooker*: but for all that, some of these Objections may sway with others, my Superiours in point of Learning and Wit, with others of more tender Consciences, with others, in respect of Interest: all which I dare not condemn, because I would not be condemned; and we must allow some Grains to Persons, Times, Infirmities, and mens Livelihoods, or dissolve Commerce, the very Life and Strength of every Body Politick.

From whence I have reason to hope, no Gentleman who hath taken but a cursory View of the Design of *Fiat Lux*, (which is to captivate our Reasons to the Will of the old Gent. who pretendeth to Infallibility, and which *I. O.*

as



as it is evident, hath discover'd to be a pious Cheat) but will excuse me from a particular Replication to our Gentleman's impertinent Comparifon betwixt the Author's Intention, and the Project of *Fiat Lux*: not to fay, how much the *Gentleman* feems pleas'd with thofe Shadows he hath raifed, and the pretty mock Fights naturally arifing from them.

Let *I. O.* defend his Book himfelf, I reply to the *Gentleman's* next Objection and fay, it is not fo wonderful an Impossibility, but that men may be thought to renounce Chrift as foon by other Guides, as by following their own Reason, whereof the *Arrian* Herefie is abundant Testimony, fettled by Council under *Constantius*: who, faith the *Gent.* was wheadl'd into that Party, and that it was not a general Council, which is a piece of Confidence, only due to the *Gentleman* I fuppofe, and crave Pardon if I am miftaken.

Whether the Holy Ghofl was fent to *Trent* in a Cloak-bag from *Rome*, as the Covenant was in *Mr. Marshal's* Portmantua

mantua from Scotland to England, I think it scarce worth while to enquire.

However, since General Councils have erred damnably, that they may do so again, is probable enough: which doth evidence, that particular Reason is safer sometimes, otherwise, how come those Errors to be discover'd? And if *Luther* had not follow'd his own Reason, the Reformation would not have been, in all humane Probability, brought to pass: for either it was Reason which satisfy'd him then, and others since, who forsook the *Roman Church*, or they were unreasonable that did forsake her; and we as unreasonable, nay more, who follow their Examples, which I hope the *Gent.* will not affirm.

But the *Gent.* designedly hath slipt over the *Author's* pertinent Question, viz. *what it is* (for something it must be) *which is properly placed in the same Ecclesiastical Authority with Reason*; it being evident from the very Elements of Councils, and their frequent Declinations from Truth; that *If God had not stirred*

stirred up Persons of extraordinary Abilities to examine, by the Rules of their own Reasons, those Follies and dangerous Errors in Religion, which, by the Ignorance or Interest of men, or the insensible Advances of ill Customs, were blindly embraced by the World; the Christian World before this time, from the Adoration of Images, and the boundless Increase of vain and superstitious Ceremonies, might have past to its vain and abominable worship of several Deities: To which I presume to add, or of none at all; for I know nothing hath more augmented the unreasonable Folly of Atheists, than that very gross Doctrine which diverted the great Arabian Philosopher from Christianity: not to mention their Claim to Infallibility, and our own Persecution of one another; who pretend not to it, yet endeavour to lock up the only way left us to vanquish Atheists, Heathens, Papists or any other, in the magisterial, positive, and implicate Breasts of that sort of Men, who give the greatest Blow to Religion it self, by such Preclusion of Enquiry; when the Scripture biddeth us search,  
and

and we cry out upon the Church of *Rome* for her imposing implicite Obedience.

The next thing the *Gent.* falleth upon (after his having abounded in his Repetition of Rules to interpret the Scripture by) having also before agreed Reason to be useful in leading us to the Truth of Scripture (which Rules are ordinarily in Books laid down) is, that the *Author* useth too great a Latitude, in setting the Gates of Heaven too wide open, calling it Charity with a Witness; inferring, as if the Author had designed to prove, we ought to believe *Turks*, *Jews*, *Heathens* and *Atheists* themselves to be in an equal Possibility of Salvation with the unerring Christian, which must be true, so far as it is possible, these or any of these are in a Possibility of being convinc'd of their *Turkism*, *Judaism*, *Heathenism*, and *Atheism* to Christianity; and may be true, as to the Heathens, from the Plea allowable to them of invincible Ignorance, not so as to *Turks*, because Christianity is amongst them, nor to *Jews* from their Obduration  
against

against immediate Miracles done for their Conversion, nor to Atheists, because they are convincible from the course of all natural Agents, though the Author only ask'd the Question, *Whether we ought to believe these be forenamed were in an equal possibility of Salvation with Christians?* and to shew he did not believe it, he confesseth, *there is no other name to be saved by* (that is, to speak strictly) *but that of Christ*, and then subjoyneth, that he may very well believe, there are other secret and wonderful ways, by which God may be pleas'd to apply his Merits (that is, Christ's Merits to mankind) besides those direct, open, and ordinary ones of Baptism and Confession; which I suppose is no Crime to say, nor hard to prove, if the time would give Leave; so that for all these Scratches of the *Gent.* the Author's Charity is safe enough. Let us see how charitable the *Gent.* is to his own Countrymen; for I must make Leaps as he doth, else I cannot overtake him.

To evidence it, *pag. 75.* of his Answer, he saith, that when he seeth others, when they should worship God, sit on their Tails like *Dogs*, or wallow and loll, and grunt, and groan like *Swine*, or stand up and wriggle and make ugly Faces, and grin and make Mouths like *Apes*, or *Baboons*, he must confess, he cannot, for his Soul, but think, their way of Worship ridiculous and contrary to the due Expressions of the Reverence they owe to the infinite God of Heaven and Earth, which is the Witness of his Charity. Now pray observe if I have not Reason enough to think, that the *Gentleman's* way of Worship may seem as ridiculous to the others; I am sure his Censure is very uncharitable: for though men, worshipping according to their Consciences, may miss, in legal Circumstance, yet it is rational to suppose, there's much of Devotion in their manner of worship: and *Saint Paul* was of another mind than this *Gent.* is, for he would not eat, *rather than offend his weak Brother*; and there is no one thing more press'd by *Christ*, than *Charity*, which

which I leave to the *Gent's*. Consideration at his Leisure.

But he objecteth against the *Author*, for saying, *That as well different Thoughts may represent the Worship of God and his Son Jesus Christ, as different Words can represent the same Thoughts*; which the *Gent.* termeth an extravagant Assertion in the literal Sense of it; to which I answer.

It is possible I may have Thoughts of God's several Representation of himself, as by *Moses*, by the *Man Christ*, by his Apostles, which is to worship him for his gradual Exertion of himself; and in the Wisdom and Method of his Operation, and otherwise; I may reflect upon the Creation of the World beyond that, upon the first Race of Intellectuals: and then again, of the fall of man, his being thereby subjected to God's Wrath; and finally of Christ's Passion; which put us again into a potentiality of being saved: by all which (to instance in no more) I do render him no different, but one Worship, though every part of my Worship be not at all times subtiliz'd

in my Imagination and Memory. Therefore, though I should admit to the *Gentleman*, that the Worship of God is essentially plac'd in the Thoughts, it doth not thence follow, as he would have it (though illogically) that different Thoughts must make different Worships; for there is allways an Identity of Worship both natural, and grounded upon revealed Truths: and if internal Worship be no more than conceiving of all ways, according to the best of my Reason (so govern'd) to honour God, by, from and under the Satisfaction to me, of his incomprehensible Existence and Power, I shall have much Peace by it.

Again, How disingeniously the *Gent.* endeavoureth to possess his Readers, that the *Author* goeth about to prove a man may be excusable, though he followeth humane Reason, to the denial of Christianity; when the *Author* expressly saith, pag. 57. and 58. *That the best and truest humane Reason could not have found out, of it self, the Wisdom of God in a Mystery, ev'n that hidden Wisdom which*



which God ordain'd before the *World*, which is the *Mystery of Christ, Jesus Christ*; for saith the Author, it was necessary it should be first revealed by the Spirit of God, which can only discover the deep things of God, but as soon as God had revealed it by Miracles, fulfilling of Prophecies, humane Reason was able to behold it, and confess it, not that Grace had alter'd the Eye-sight of humane Reason, but that it had drawn the Object nearer to it. So far is the Learned Author from alledging, that a man may be excusable by following of Reason to the Denyal of Christianity, that he hath made it primarily subservient to the Divine Spirit, and yet capable to embrace the rationability of Scripture-evidence; which is one of the main, but not the sole Foundations of Christianity.

And for Answer to the *Gentleman's* confident Challenge to the *Author*, that he would prove, that ever the heathen *Greeks* had amongst them any Question which they defended, more directly contrary to the Christian Religion, than the Author's, I suppose he mean-

eth our Relyance upon Reason. I will Instance in one only, though I might produce more, and that is, the *Epicureans* Doctrine, which acknowledging God, deny'd nevertheless his Providence, by pretending it below and inconsistent with his Majesty Divine, to trouble it self with humane Affairs: but if Providence had been exploded out of the minds of men, it had been impossible to have persuaded us, that God was ever displeas'd at the Fall of *Adam*; and consequently, there would have appear'd no need at all of Restauration by Christ.

But the *Gent.* flyeth yet higher in the very same page, by charging the *Author* that he hath busied himself to prove, Humane Reason may, with Safety to eternal Happines, tolerate Atheism it self, and consequently, all kind of Lusts and Wickedness whatsoever.

Really, a most irrational and degenerate Objection; such an Objection, as no man, who pretendeth to be a Gentleman, but would blush to make: to cancel which, I need do no more than repeat the Author's own Words. *pag. 31.*  
which

which are these, *I believe first, that Reason it self will declare to every man in the World, that he ought to adhere to the Christian, rather than to any other, Religion in the World.* Now if Christian Religion ought to be adhered to, it followeth necessarily, that Vertue ought to be embrac'd, and Vice detested, because that Religion doth engage men to Holiness, without the Practise whereof, none can be happy, according to the very Elements of that Religion.

The next things quarrell'd at, are those Positive and undeniable Arguments which the Author propoundeth to establish, the Excellency of Humane Reason, (taking it with it's due Helps) that is, by comparing it with other Guides, standing in Competition with it: in the Prosecution whereof, how learnedly, accurately, and judiciously, the *Author* hath particularly demonstrated the Uncertainty of many other pretended Guides, and the Improbability of their being able to satisfie a solid Inquisition after Truth, and which we are commanded to make, and for which, the

*Bereans* were called noble, appeareth so clearly from the 62 *pag.* of his book to *pag.* 64. that I dare say, no unprejudiced Reader having considered them, will suppose less than this, that his Arguments need not any other Proof, but the bare Prolation.

But however, to give the *Gent.* fair Play, I will go back a little to the *Author's page* 63. where he proveth Authority less safe than humane Reason; out of which the *Gent.* would very fain squeeze something like a Face of Contradiction; to which I answer.

He that believeth any thing because enjoined by Authority, is not, nor cannot in his own Conscience, be so safe, as he that believeth and obeyeth Authority; because he is rationally convinc'd he ought to obey it, having commanded a rational thing.

As to the *Gentleman's* Instance of the Judges passing Sentence *Secundum allegata & probata*, he is mistaken; for our Judges do not so judge, nor will our municipal Law bear it (nor is it any thing pertinent to the Business in hand)

for

for it is the Jury that groundeth the Sentence here, the Judge only pronouncing it.

And touching the *Gentleman's* Instance about *Adam's* Fall, from want of following of the Dictates of his own Reason, asserted by the Author, and which the *Gent.* would elude, by saying that *Adam's* Crime was for believing *Eve*, rather than his own Reason; insisting, that the Inhibition was not a Law of Nature or Reason, but a mere positive Law. I answer, if the Law were merely positive, *Adam* had the greater Reason to observe it, and therefore it was irrationally done, to follow the Persuasions of his Wife (you may call it Authority if you please, considering our Wives now in *England*) before the Command of his Maker, and indeed a thing altogether unbecoming his masculine Superiority; and by the *Gentleman's* Favour, *Eve* did not plead the Authority, but Fraud of the Serpent which beguiled her, nor did the Serpent pretend to any Dominion over her.

But

But I see the *Gent.* groweth angry, by his Excursions in the upper part of his 96. pag. being nothing civil at all to the Author, nor indeed pertinent to the Controversie: which for the *Gentleman's* own sake, because possibly, 'twas but the effect of mere Passion, I shall forbear to mention here particularly, and now I must look backwards.

To what is objected against the *Author's* Words, which are, *That they who commit themselves to the Guidance of their own Reason, if they do commit themselves wholly to it, are as safe on the Left hand, as on the Right: as secure of Happiness in their Errors, as others are who are otherwise guided ev'n in the Truths which they happ'n to fall into.* I suppose it is no more than if he had said, that Councils, Doctors, Fathers, Schoolmen, Churches &c. have erred both ways: and therefore I am in as great Danger in submitting to such fallible and blind Guides every whit, nay greater, than if I happ'n to err, after having searcht, with all the imaginable Strength of my Reason, for Truth: for saith the

*Au.*

*Author, There is no danger of perishing but for Disobedience, to what? to God's Commands : and I am commanded to offer a reasonable Service, I am to give a reason of my Faith, and that Hope which is in me, and doth it look like a good Plea to say, that I did search, and pray'd to God, to direct me in that Search by his Spirit? or is it better to say, and more tolerable, that I believ'd as the Church believ'd, and rested there as safe I thought, as a Thief in a Mill? but this last Plea can never hold, for me to pretend I did so with other men's Eyes, when God hath giv'n me Eyes of mine own : and this made Luther stir, and H.8.too; who being King of a Kingdom independent of Rome, properly (though many ways usurpt by the Pope) was not, à parte rei, obliged to refer himself to the Decision of any foreign Potentate about that which, he alledg'd, troubl'd his Conscience; or if it were from any other Motive, yet it was generously done upon the main; and God can bring Good out of Evil: whence the Author's Assumption, that there is in  
man*

*man a natural Ability of searching for spiritual Truths, and that it can be nothing else but the Understanding, neither to any thing else can the Command of searching be directed &c.* cannot be shaken by what is objected; besides that, the Author has the Suffrage of the best learned in all Ages to back him.

As to what fell in betwixt the *Author* and Master *Hobbs*, it doth not much concern me to meddle with, in this place, *T. H.* will shift for himself: but I will tell the *Gent.* he is the first Christian that ever interpreted the fifth of *Marther*, *Let your Light so shine before men, that they may see your good works*, to warrant the Necessity of Obedience to external Worship; nor will the Scope of that Chapter bear it, the Apostle intending to explain thereby, the blessed State of Christianity in Suffering for Christ. &c.

And that it is impossible, Humane Reason (so guided as the *Author* hath told us) should lead men into those Sins of Theft, Murder, &c, and all other Villanies, appeareth from this, that nothing



thing else besides it, can preserve us from the Commission of them; for no man while he used his own Reason rightly, ever committed any of them, it being impossible to suppose it could be the Effect of Reason, to be impious, but it may be the effect of the enslaving of our Reason, to the brutish part of a man, which is his sensual Appetite, or the like, which indeed is too familiar while Youth lasteth.

It is true which the *Gent.* affirmeth, that whoever faileth by the willfull neglect of finding out of Truth, which was in his Power to help, is therefore inexcusable; but he that persecutes those who have searcht according to their best means, and yet cannot satisfie their own Consciences, is more inexcusable; by doing that to others which he would (for no man would be persecuted) not have done to himself.

But the *Gentleman* excepts against the Author's asserting, *That we ought not to believe Errors of Faith to be damnable, it being unreasonable to teach men, that Errors overthrow our Hopes of*  
*Salva-*

*Salvation, unless we could likewise give them a Catalogue of those Errors which are so: Paul indeed saith, there are damnable Heresies, and Peter, but names none in particular, but denying of the Lord that bought us, thereby bringing swift Destruction, &c.* it is very plain thereby, Peter defin'd, or rather determin'd the denying of the Lord that bought them, to be the only damnable Heresie, which indeed I take to be Apostacy.

However the *Gent.* adventureth to give us another manner of Catalogue of damnable Heresies, which he saith, are all such as are continued in, in Opposition to the Authority of the Church perversely and obstinately; I grant it true. But if all are guilty of damnable Errors, or damnable Heresie, who do not obey what the Church enjoyneth, that is, the Law in *England* and *Scotland*, considering the Indifferency of some, and the dissenting of others; there will be but a few compar'd to the guilty, in any Possibility of Salvation in those two Kingdoms; and it must needs invite all lukewarm Protestants  
to

to the *Roman* Religion, rather than to stick to the Religion of that people, so generally infected with damnable Errors; the Papists have reason to thank him for it.

Yet again, the *Gent.* quarrelleth at the *Author*, for saying; *Where we do not know our Fault, we have no means of Repenting of it, and consequently, cannot expect Pardon for it, there being no Forgiveness without Repentance, and Repentance is impossible without knowledge of our Fault.*

To which the *Gentleman's* answer is, if this be true, it would damn all Mankind; and my Reply is, *If it be not true, it must damn most of Mankind:* for confident I am, there's not one in a thousand that thinketh himself obliged to repent of Sins he never knew of, it being enough, and more than most men do, to repent of known sins. Pardon implyeth a Guilt, Guilt is a Breach of the Law. The old Testament condemneth none but for actual Sins, the new maketh few new Sins, more than the old: for Thoughts, if transient, and not reduced

duc'd into Act, are not Sins; and what *David* saith, *Who can understand his Errors?* there is not any more meant by it, than that it is difficult to understand them; and when he prayeth to be pardon'd his secret Sins, he intended not any other than such Sins, as were only known to God and himself; so against presumptuous Sins, which are intended against Light, against Reason, no man having ever had greater Reason to be thankful to God than he, who had been preferr'd and preserved in so admirable a manner, more than once from his Enemies, &c. And the *Gent.* cannot forget who prayed to be deliver'd from unreasonable men, nor who fought with Beasts at *Ephesus*.

Again, the *Author* having said, the great Probability of Truth on all sides, ev'n in the erring ones, ought to make us believe, that God will pardon those Errors: the *Gentleman* answers thus.

If our Errors be such as are not the Effects or Causes of any Sin, we have no Reason to think but God will pardon them: and I say, *If our Sins be the*  
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*Causes of our Errors, we have no Reason to think, that God will pardon them; and that Sin is for the most part the Cause of Errors, is plain to any man who shall observe the Effects of Debauchery: for how is it possible, any man can act rationally, who drowneth his Reason? or believe, as convinc'd by Reason, when he will offer Violence to it, and brutifie himself.*

But saith the *Gent.* if our Errors are the Effect of willfull Ignorance, Pride or Idleness, if they have lead us into Schism and Heresie, and thereby into Contempt of Authority, then we can have no Hopes of Pardon without Amendment; wherefore Sin being most commonly the Cause or the Effect of Errors, or both, it proveth there is no small Danger in them.

I must mind the Reader here, how the *Gentleman* runneth the *Wild-goose Chase*; one while putting an erroneous person in hope of Pardon (in which he implieth Guilt) or else why Pardon? Another while, no Pardon without Amendment; as if Amendment were  
not

not the tacite Condition of every pardon; which if it were not true, men might presume to sin daily upon Assurance of daily Pardon, or, at least, upon Presumption of it: I suppose he should rather have said, no Pardon was to be had without Repentance in any Case: which he was afraid, or unwilling to say, least he should have admitted the Truth of the *Author's* Assertion, which was, that true Repentance could not be without fore-knowledge of the Fault; and I think, as concerning Errors, to mend is no more than to repent of them.

But for that the Gent. makes Wilful Ignorance a damnable sin, I do not well understand what he meaneth by the term *Wilful*, there, it being as absurd, to my apprehension, to call Ignorance, *Wilful*, as to talk of *Free Will*; the Will alwayes following, and being acted by the last Dictate of the Understanding: so that, it not only seemeth to be, but is necessitated, being no Faculty in it self: men cannot therefore believe what they please, nor think what they please, that

that such or such an Opinion, or thing, is true or false. Indeed a man may act contrary to his Understanding, which is Hypocrisie, and which, if the Gent. pleaseth, he may call Wilful Hypocrisie: nor do I know a fitter man to make Hypocrites than himself, who is so fierce, nay fiercer than our Laws are themselves, to have all men compelled to Conformity, whether it be with or against their Reasons, after the way Carters use, by the Whip, to teach their poor Horses obedience.

Now again; the *Author* having said, and truly, *that there is no such great danger from Errors, since there is but one true way for a thousand false ones, and that there's no mark set upon that true way, to distinguish it from others, (Reason being the Judge) the Gent. argueth, that where the difficulty surpasseth the Faculty that God hath given us (Reason still, for we have no other) we need not fear he will punish us for not finding out such Truths: (Where's Wilful Ignorance now? for, saith he, if they had been necessary (I wish he had told us what*

what are necessary for our Salvation, ) they would have been suited to our Capacities, but if we are wilfully ignorant of necessary Truths, then it is not more contrary to the Goodness of God to punish us Eternally for that, than for any other sin which we dye in, without Repentance. I reply,

That in all Cases where I cannot assent to any Proposition about Faith, ( because unconvinc'd ) having search'd and try'd what possibly I could to convince or inform my self; I need not fear God will punish me eternally; for, in this case, I cannot be guilty of that he calleth Wilful Ignorance, for it followeth, that all Truths which I assent not to ( having so search'd by my Reason ) do either surpass my Understanding, or they do not: if they do, I am not punishable, saith the Gent. eternally, and I say, *If they do I am not punishable eternally, because I could not know they were Truths; Punishment alwayes presupposing Guilt, and it is no Crime not to be able to know, but a natural Infirmary: indeed it is a Crime not to*  
*search*



*search for Truth ; but none to think such a Position false ; Neither do I know that men are any were, in Scripture said to be condemned eternally for any other but unrepented actual Sins.*

But if I should grant that some Errors are damnable, how shall I know which are so? one Church condemning another, must not my Reason judge for me ?

Yet higher, If it be hard to say, which a Great Author saith, not yet answer'd, ( nor perhaps ever will ) *that God who is the Father of Mercies, that doeth, in Heaven and Earth, all that he will, that bath the Hearts of all men in his disposing, that Worketh in men both to Will and to Do, and without whose free gift a man bath neither inclination to Good, nor repentance of Evil, should punish mens Transgressions without any end of Time, and with all the extremity of Torture that men can imagine, and more : it seemeth hard to think ( which I add ) that he will punish men eternally for not being able to find out the Truth : harder for their Errors, which they believe to be Truth,*  
but

but hardest of all, for not conforming to the External Modes of honouring him, which are alterable, and many times accommodated to the Interest of a Nation; and are only honourable towards him, because they are legally declar'd to be honourable in one place, not so in another. How much therefore doth it concern the Supreme Power, every where, to consider and weigh the present *Genius* of the People, before they make Ecclesiastical Laws? for they alwayes touch the Consciences of men, not so other Laws ( for they are for Publick Peace ( strictly ) and must be obey'd ) they are, I say, to be considered, especially there, where, in the very Nature of the People, there is much pity for Sufferers about Religious concerns, and in whom there is a general abhorrence ( as with us, about Religion ) from Persecution, which His Majesty well understood, when he afforded that Gracious Condescension : besides, all men know, Persuasion was the Method of the Apostles, not Rigor, nor will Rigor prevail here.

And

And we have lived to see ( once more to say it ) the Profit of that demonstrative and rational way of Preaching, and Printing used of late ; whereof. *D. Stillingfleet's* Book Entitl'd *Origines Sacrae*, that most Excellent Book, proving the Being of God, the Immortality of the Soul, and the truth of Scripture, is no mean Example ; nor are *D. Tillotson's* Printed Sermons less considerable against Atheism. From whence I pass by ( as granted on all hands ) the *Gentleman's* long Harangue ( which he before play'd with ) of the Rationality of Men's being obliged to consult with Divines, Lawyers and Physicians, as answered before.

Though I may pertinently subjoyn, what great Reason our *Author* had to mention the Ignorance or Malice of one sort of our spiritual Phisicians, together with their too vilible Vices ( I mean in some of them ) as none more likely to let in a Flood of Atheism and Popery, than the Disobedience of Dissenters: from whence I pass to the *Gentleman's* next Argument against our Relyance upon Reason ;

Reason ; he putting the case, *of meeting with a Jesuit, or Sectary, who shall attack me, how I will avoid being made either of those two ?*

To which I must reply, and can give no other than this, that in such a Case, I must fly to Reason as my safest Guard ; all other Guides being fallible, which no man in his Wits was ever yet so irrational as to say of Reason, nor the Gentleman neither.

Yet to speak freely, I cannot think otherwise, but that I am obliged to yield to either of those two, if they appear either of them to have greater Reason than mine ; and that I may be safe with either of them, the *Gent.* allows : so there's no Danger at all, in meeting with either the one or the other, but a possible Profit.

So great is the use of Reason, and so great is the Force and Defence of it. The plain Truth is, it is the thinking man that is wise. As for Books, they may be useful, yet 'tis dangerous relying upon them : 'tis true, a few Books well chosen and digested may open and esta-

establish the Understanding, when as too much reading dazles it: how many Persons of good Natural Parts, acquired Wit and Learning, wear out their dayes in a perpetual hurry of reading, is obvious to every man of general Conversation; *such are alwayes learning, and never come at truth.* So that every Humane Excellency resolves into Reason, or throwds under its Umbrage; Reason, which (as a Light Divine) govern'd the World before the Metaphorical word *Conscience* was known.

This begot Government, teaches Obedience; and, first of all, oblig'd men to Natural Religion, which can never be cancell'd or forgotten. All the Lawyers in the World cannot make any Case Law, which is not Reasonable; 'tis not Precedents will do it, they are but Opinions. Nor can any Divine preach me into a belief of any Proposition, unless he be able to convince my Reason, that what he sayes is true. Nor any Politician warrant the soundness of his Advice to his Sovereign, till the Event has justified the Rationability of his

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Counsel, which is the Reason, why it has been observed, that some wary men in Counsels endeavour to speak last.

'Tis hard to conceive, what that thing is, which the Learned call *Physi-um Fatum*; so many little (and impossible to be foreseen) intervening Accidents, may, and do often, alter the most subtle Projections.

On the other side, a Rational and Prudent man may live in Peace in most Times, under the changes of Government, by complying; as Judge *Hale* did, in the times of Usurpation, to maintain Property. 'Tis true, Subjects have Liberty in all things, where they are not restrain'd by Laws, and in such things they have restrain'd themselves. As too furious Use of Power has endanger'd many States, so the want of Power has ruin'd others.

But, as there is nothing weaker than to think, that any Government will be baffled by Private men; so, upon this Discretion, the Peace of every Nation depends; which is the greatest Earthly Blessing.

And,

And, if I do say, the Peace of most men depends upon the Use of their own Reason, I think 'tis no Paradox : 'tis the want thereof puts us many times, (uncompell'd) upon *accidental Furies*; where, very often, Passion, Malice, or secret Interest swayes; or the corruption of Judges, or their cowardise, or want of Patience to hear; or, which is too frequent, *the mercenary impudence of some Pleaders*; or, which happens sometimes in Courts of Equity; where, unless the Judge be very able, the Barr will run round him, and abuse his Intentions, to the ruin of the unfortunate Plaintiff or Defendant.

And, though I may appeal to most men of Business, for the Warranty of these general Instances, yet, because the Gent. is guilty of uncivil Excursions from the Text, he undertakes to confute: I will discover the Fox, that Vulgar Eyes may see his unkind wiles, to evade the Author's fair Intentions with labour'd Falacies.

Pursuant to which Design, the Reader may please to observe, what Pains he takes in half a dozen Pages, of his *Plain Dealing*, to tell our Author the necessary Consequences of taking Religion quite away from the World, by removing it, as he calls it, out of the minds of men, which no man will deny ( if it were possible to banish it ) but whether he had any reason to huff, with all that Harangue, from any slip of the *Author's*, I leave all Ingenuous Persons to judge, considering the whole thread of the *Author's* Book: for, where the Author says, if such Pretences ( meaning Pretences of Religion, not Religion it self ) were removed, by granting Liberty of Conscience every where; I say, such Liberty, as do's not hinder Peace and Trade, the cause of most Wars and Bloodshed would be removed; the Cause, I say again, of most Foreign and Civil Wars.

This to prove, I may instance the War by *the Spaniard in 88. against England; the Irish Rebellion in the Queens time*: and more dreadful in ours, the  
dire-



*direful Effects of the Scottish Covenant,* the present Stirs in *Hungary, &c.* all which evince the Truth of our *Author's* Argument.

As to the *French King's* Actions, be they the effects of Ambition or otherwise; yet this is plain, there is a Kingdom of Darkness endeavour'd to be impos'd by the dark, cunning, and indefatigable Industry of it's Emissaries and *Bigots* every where; and very wise, loyal persons, do ascribe much of our peace, since the happy Restauration of our present King, to his being freed from humouring of uncharitable Zealots even amongst our selves at home.

Nor need I reckon up *Zisca's* Actions; nor the Ravage of the *Swedes*, under *Gustavus Adolphus*, in Germany, the Effusion of Blood by *Duke D'alva*, who put 18000. to death in cold Blood, (having toucht the indiscreet Zeal of his Master *Philip* already,) nor the misguided Zeal of our *Queen Mary*, nor the prodigious Fortune of *O. C.* in his Pretences for Religion, nor his Actions complying with such a Vizard: yet it may not be

amiss to remember the Breach of that League the *Hungarians* had made with *Amarath* the third, the *Turkish* King; how 'twas broken by the religious heat of the *Pope's* Legate, which was the cause of shedding so much Christian Blood, and God was pleas'd to give the *Turk* Victory after three days Fight, and the *Othoman's* appeal to Christ for Justice; and we must not forget the Sufferings in *Peimont* of late years, upon the score of Religion, not to speak of particular Massacres occasion'd from Biggotism, whereof Histories are so full, 'tis not necessary to insert them in this Paper; nor would I have so far waded in Particulars, but to shew and expose the *Gent's*. unreasonable Confidence on the other hand inferring, that most of our late Wars have arisen upon purely politick Pretensions, and not upon religious Colors.

And I not only hope, but am really persuaded, it will never be within the Power, nor Design of any dissenting party in *England*, (so men be not too much prosecuted for Nonconformity) to stir

stir up my Country-men into actual Disobedience against his Majesties Laws, farther than to suffer: for the Scars of the late intestine Wars, remaining still, being fresh in Memory, the greatest Convulsions the *British* Empire ever felt (which I hope never will be renew'd) being hardly yet shak'd off.

But because this general Toleration to all Protestants which I seem to plead for, at least wish, if Authority shall think fit, may seem of Right, indulgible to that sort of men, who claim their Religion under a foreign Head. The Answer is easie, *viz.* That 'tis not for their Religion, but for designing to alter the Government, and for drawing off his Majesty's Subjects to the Allegiance of the *Roman* See, they are corrected by our Laws; which Laws, when strain'd by passionate Judges, beyond the Intention of former Legislators, to the Oppression of peaceable dissenting Protestants, gratifie ill men, hinder Trade, scandalize the Protestant Churches beyond the Seas, and seem to deserve a Parliamentary Explanation.

However, our Dissenters are to know, there must always be, and ever since Christianity was embrac'd by Princes, there has been, general Rules authoriz'd for the Church, whereby *Indecencies* have been punish'd, which are judg'd so to be such, by the Supreme Authority in all States, relating to the external way of honouring God; and because Peace is the end of Government, men's opinions, when publickly vented and found inconsistent with Peace, must be regulated by the Magistrate, which is not to make men see double by being dazl'd betwixt Ecclesiastical and Temporal powers, for all Power is temporal, as Power.

Nevertheless, as *T. H.* saith, *Paul or Cephas, or Apollo may be followed, perhaps as the best way, according to a mans liking, so it be done without Contention, and without measuring the Doctrine of Christ by our Affection to the person of the Minister*; (the Fault which *Paul* reprehended in the *Corinthians*,) his Reasons follow, See the *Leviathan* ch. 47. pag. 385. and they are such as no man has ever hitherto

to presum'd to refute; though his sworn Enemies have assaulted him otherwise by Shoals.

The *English* are loth to venture their Salvations at Cross and Pile; which *Beccanus* urges in his Chapter, *de fide*, a little too eagerly.

Let us take heed, *Since the Tares must grow up with the Wheat till the Harvest*, least by furious Zeal, we be found guilty of plucking up the Wheat with the Tares.

And let us remember our blessed Saviour's Censure of those who requir'd Fire from Heaven, to consume the apparent Unkindnesses of, perhaps, (in some measure) ignorant men; he tells his Disciples, *they knew not what Spirit they were of*.

'Tis as hard to be virtuous; as to be whipt into any particular Religion; because our natural passions are contrary to the Laws of rea'on: and for that, the Vices of some of the Clergy, on both sides, have render'd them contemptible, for which last, God has, more than once, removed the Candlestick.

The Object of their Profession being properly, Eternal Life; the people think, and truly, they ought not to inter-meddle with Government, at least in the Pulpit: *England* has felt the ill Consequence of their Excursions more than once, and what Prejudice the *Spaniard* has gotten, and how he has dwindl'd in Power, by his bloody and perverted Inquisition and blind Zeal, otherwise, he that runs may read.

What Liberty the *Turk* allows to peaceable Christians in his Empire, is well known, and how he thrives by it, has been here hinted before.

We are near enough to the *United Provinces*, to understand their Permissions, as to Conscience, and the Advance of their politick Interests thereby, which never lyes.

The Seat of Power is absolute there, and every where, therefore a *Lenitive Law* is not impracticable here, in reason, if our Superiors please, nor inconsistent with our Government Regal.

The Church depends upon the State not the State upon the Church, for the  
King

King is Head of both, and they both  
are consolidate in him, *Jure Corona.*

All Kings, as Kings, were originally  
vested with that Power, so the Pope, in  
his own Dition, has it *Jure Papatus.*

Some say, Nothing is Conscience to  
any man, which ought not to be so to  
another; 'tis regularly true, I think,  
and though, sure, he that said, *Tales pub-  
lickly told and allow'd, was Religion*, spake  
wittily, relating to Sacred History; yet,  
methinks, 'twas something below his  
Gravity, it was a Definition a little too  
jocular, but that Gentleman spake of  
Religion in General.

However, since the *Gent.* in his *Plain  
Dealing*, has discover'd his dislike of  
*T. H.* I may take leave to say, I think  
him a most excellent Philosopher, and  
Great in several other respects; for  
warranty whereof, I need only produce  
that admirable *Pindarick Ode* upon him,  
written by my School-fellow *Cowley*,  
where he saith,

*There's none but God does know,  
Whether the fair Idea thou dost show,  
Agrees intirely with thine own, or no.*

Speaking of T. H.

'Tis

'Tis such an *Ode*, as perhaps excells all made before it, and I shall think it true, till I see a fairer *Idea* of Truth, and no longer : for it is not my purpose to be an obstinate *Heretick*, no nor a *State-Martyr* neither. Nor to suffer at all for Disobedience to Laws. I take him to be the best Subject, who obeys them; not him, who patiently yields to pay the Penalties; Passive Obedience, and Free Will, are sense alike to my Understanding.

*Why should a man be miserable before his time ?* was the Question of the Wise King.

I do think, 'tis best to be of the Religion of a man's Countrey, Externally at least; and sure I am, there is nothing morally evil in ours : and for External Worship in Religion, as to time and place, it is determinable by the Supreme Magistrate ( in my opinion ) not as a Christian, but as King. For neither the Brazen Serpent, nor the Golden Calf, were naturally preferable one more than another; 'twas *Mosè* gave the Precedency. Betwixt the Laws of  
Rea-



Reason ( which are undoubtedly God's Eternal Laws) and the Laws of a man's Civil Sovereign, which we are commanded to obey, I know none; *the Moral Law being but a repetition of the Laws of Reason.*

This Consideration gives me occasion to slight the huge Volumes of stuff obtruded upon us, otherwise, impertinently, *as grounded upon the Old Testament*, but without any warrant to oblige us, as Christians and Subjects; to believe the Authors of such waste Papers, in what they write. All this while; every good man is to consider the most Excellent Counsels of our Saviour, every where in the New Testament, and the History of God's Divine Providence in the old.

Herein we agree; but I do not understand what the *Gent.* means by the Laws of the Church: for the Church of *England* never did, nor can make any Law, nor is it Rational to say she can, for when Laws are made, they are the King's Laws, and the Bishops are his Bishops.

And

And if all the Bishops in *England* had been dead, when the King was restor'd, ( there did not above three survive the Usurpation, as I am inform'd ) unless the King had been pleas'd to grant his *Licentia n. Eligendi*, there could have been no new ones made. His Majesty, in his Natural Capacity, is the *Causa sine quâ non*. This strikes off the Exploded Pretence of the Bishops *Jus divinum*, and for their *Politicum*, they were better without it. Let the Parliament judge, as to their Legal Rights.

But, whether the greatest part of our Dissenters go to Meetings, out of Interest to carry on their Trades, and not out of Religion, ( which the *Gent.* saith they do ) I know not: Probably they do: and 'tis as true, that many go to our Churches for such Ends, or worse. Let every man examine himself, and, by the Lives of each sort, judge which are most probably Atheistical; it being hard to believe, that they who live in advised sins, do really believe there is any God at all, let them be of what Party they please.

As

As for my own part, I am apt to think, there are with us two main and Evident Causes of Atheism : The first is, the Example of Great Men and Vicious ; the second is, the Debauchery of some Ministers, especially in Countreys far off *London* : for, in and about *London*, to speak candidly, I find many worthy Preachers, and vertuous men ; but how the Flights and Mountees of the *Gent.* against Atheism, came to be inserted into *Plain Dealing*, as in answer to our Author, I cannot tell, unless it were to shew his flosculous Oratory ; much good may it do him, he is a Plain-dealing Person : but the plain truth is, the midling sort of men will not be brought to rest with an implicit Faith in their authoriz'd Teachers ; that will not do in *England* : the People apprehend well enough, for they feel soonest ; so far *Vox populi* is *Vox Dei*. 'Tis the mediation of Reason must convince them, and reduce them, or the special Revelation of Gods Spirit, which, how easily mistaken, is easily understood ; I say, mistaken by such, who  
take

take their own Dreams for the Holy Spirit.

All mens Condescensions, Adherencies, and Procedures, in Moral, Religious, and Politick Affairs, being built upon what they think Reason, and no otherwise, which needs no illustration to a direct Atheist; for he, disbelieving a Deity, gives no Adoration: to a mere Pagan, for he, probably, gives it to Sun or Moon, and yet thinks they are Divine Powers: to one of the *Roman* Church, for he takes the Pope to be infallible, &c. to any Dissenter; for if his dissenting proceed from Conscience, it proceeds from his Reason: So the Merchant, and all other Tradesmen are directed, and conducted by that which seems the most Rational way towards their respective Ends. Yet the *Gent.* is pleas'd to term the Author's Argument, proving, invincibly, the necessity of our Appeal to Humane Reason, *a foolish Argument.* But some are too hasty to wear Swords.

I might add, that Obedience is more chearfully and rationally given to Princes,

ces, from their Subjects, from their being protected by their Princes : Self-preservation being an essential part of the Law of Nature, and involves the Summary of the Laws of Reason, to do as a man would be done unto ; for if I abuse my Power, there are Arms stronger than mine.

And as things are, ( in my poor Opinion ) at this Juncture, it comports best with the Interest of *England*, and consequently with the King's Interest, ( whose Greatness and Safety is involv'd in the Riches and Strength of his Subjects ) that all Dissenting Parties, about the External Worship of God ( for Opinions may be, and will be internally free ) should be kept, as near as can be, in a Balance ( the *Romanists* excepted, so far as they are inconsistent with the Government, because, 'tis said, they would bring in a Foreign Head ; ) all which *W. Penn* has substantially proved, in a little Treatise lately published, and dispers'd into most Parliament mens hands by himself ; which, to speak truly, is accurate-

ately, candidly, and judiciously compos'd, and with a good Masculine Style, free from Canting; which, without offering violence to Reason, can never be answered: for it is proved from the Laws of Reason, from Scripture, from the Laws of Nations generally, and from those of *England*, and relates to Eternal Happiness after this Life, as well as to Temporals. Besides, I am very well satisfied, the Scale of Trade would never have held, as it has here, since the King came in, if the Dissenters had been rigorously punished in *London*, the Center of Commerce.

'Tis true, now that the Dissenting Parties are fix'd under their respective Ministers, into a kind of Corporate Societies, and their Ministers live by it: it may be suppos'd it will be more difficult, every day than other, to make such a *Comprehensive Law* (as is desir'd by the most Prudent men) to bear well at this time: As to that, the Parliament can cure it well enough, with the Permission of the King, and by apt Qualifications and Restrictions, if it pleases. And, I

. am.

am inform'd, Judge *Hale* did draw an Act for that end, which Sir *Orlando Bridgman* put him upon: but there is a Time for every thing, and God's Time is the best time. And now to return to our Province, that the Gent. may not think I have forgot him.

I must presume to tell him, his Answer does contain many other frivolous Objections, impertinent Stories, wild, and illogical Conclusions, deduc'd from precarious Principles, or totally Foreign to our Author's Treatise and Design; which, I cannot hold my self oblig'd to reply. Neither did I ever promise, or undertake to obey the Gent. in such invitations, nor to follow him in such extravagant Processions; for I hold it loss of time, and a kind of sawing off the Reader's Ears.

We are indeed too much pester'd with Books, every day creeping abroad, scribbled *Pro* and *Con* by passionate men, which signifie nothing.

But the Design of our *Author* was, in Appearance at least, pious and honourable to pacifie all parties in Religion,

I mean all Protestants, of what *Species* soever, here in *England*, with a Lenitive both charitable and rational, which may seem now seasonable, since it's found by Experience, such Corrosives as have been applyed, prove altogether ineffectual. And let us consider maturely, the Wish of *Moses*, *I would that all God's people were Prophets*, the Example of our blessed Saviour in chiding of his Disciples, *Who ask'd Fire from Heaven &c.* of St. Paul's *being all things to all men*, that of following *Paul, Cephas or Apollo*, and the Patterns of the Primitive Times of the Church, when preaching was, as it ought to be now, catechetical, not theatrical. I say, let us consider, if all the Causes and Reasons before sparsedly given in this Reply, and the Complexion of things, do not seem to conspire for a legal Plaster, to cure that incancerating Humor of vexing one another about Trifles, at least, Indifferencies, compar'd to the Elements of Christianity, or to the Essence thereof. Good Laws, and well executed, to suppress Vice, will keep all steady; let  
the



the old Gentleman at *Rome*, be as angry as he pleases, he has got nothing by us of late; and had he seen the throng, in our Streets, of stout Fellows, when his *Effigies* was burnt last, 'twould have made him despair of being able to riggle in here.

The Nation is well rouz'd up, and we have a Wise Prince, able to judge of Exigencies: all the little Shams and pretended Plots, I say, pretended Plots, of ill-affected men, of all sorts, to the Government, begin to dwindle, and look as they indeed are, ridiculous. How far the main Design of our Adversaries does still advance, and by what Artifices, Authority must judge, and does, I doubt not, take Care to prevent the Mischief.

Now as to our Design in this Reply, I hope enough hath been said to satisfy all ingenious men, and unprejudic'd, that *Reason* is the safest Guide; and consequently, that the Author of that most ingenious, much-admired, and fortunate Treatise, entitled *Humane Reason*, well deserves the Gratulation

tulation of every judicious person, for his Pains in composing it.

As to the Reader of this Paper, I shall not (as the Author of *Plain dealing* does) implore his reasonable and impartial Censure (though I know 'tis a very critical Age) because if he that reads be rational, I am sure I shall have it; if he be otherwise, I cannot have it, therefore I will not ask it.

Nor will I counterbuff the *Gent.* with *Grub-street* Poetry, in Opposition to his Comical *Ralpho*, though I can do it with as nimble a *Sarcasme*; it being at best, only a gentile kind of Buffoon'ry, something like the Rymes which the Parson of *Pentlow*, in *Essex*, when he was seventy at least, told me he tyed in Paper about a Buzards Neck, taken a little before in Lime-twigs, which had snatcht away one of his Gosslings, and which follows here.

*The Parson of Pentlow that now is,  
For stealing of one poor Gosling of his,  
Has seal'd up mine Eyes, and stich'd  
up my Bum,  
And bid me go fly to the day of Doom.*

What

What became of the Buzard so used, after she had spent her Wings, I never heard, but if it were *plain*, it was not fair *dealing* from a man of his Coat to be so cruel to the hungry Bird.

Neither was it Charity in the *Gent.* we oppose, to design the switching out of our *Author's* Light, because he saw farther into a Mill-stone than other men, and taught the Geese how to avoid the Fox, by perching upon the tree of Life; *Reason*, whose Fruit, when taken into a Stomach, not overcharg'd with Choler, always purifies the Brain.

I have done with the *Gent.* and having a small Book just now sent me by a very ingenious Lady, designedly written by a *Romanist* to strike our Author dead; I read it over and found it fill'd up with Arguments of Universality, Tradition, and Infallibility of that Church, *Peter's* Authority &c. and all these larded with Zeal to persuade me into a Dependence and Reliance upon the *Roman* Church, as the true one; in which Treatise that Author boldly said, my Reason ought to Acquiesce, 'tis well that side also makes Reason the Judge.

I was

I was pleas'd with the sound of the Word, more than with his reasons, for they did not satisfie my Understanding: yet had I known that Authors *Genius* inclin'd to Poetry, I would have recommended him, for Instruction, to, my old Friend the Parson of *Pentlow*.

And now I begin to think my self fortunate, having hitherto sided with a noble Captain (for so I account *Humane Reason*) which 'tis confest, every side pretends to, and which may possibly be beaten from it's *Posts* by the clatter of some *Coffee-house*, but it will always recover and baffle its greatest *Antagonists*, at the long run: for Truth is strongest, but Reason does assure it, without whose gentle Mediation and Midwifry, we had still remain'd in the State of War, and consequently, had been miserable,

*THE END.*

A  
R E - V I E W

A N D

A P P E N D I X.

**O**UR Reply having been written now above two years, I have re-consider'd it, and, from the past Circumstances of Affairs, and present, do think it necessary to add this *Re-view*, and other Amplifications, as either subservient to the Design, or otherwise material; insisting upon the Prospect of Reason, and the ill consequence of neglecting its guidance, *viz.*

That, from the Petulancy, Heat, and unseasonable Eagerness of some, not very Discreet nor Learned; and of others,

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Learn-

Learned, Honest, and generally Prudent, but not infallible, occasion is taken, by the other side, to answer, upon such Provocations, as they can, alledging, that their Sufferings are, and have been, all along, for Conscience-sake, and for well-doing, though the Letters of the Laws are against them, a Plea ever favour'd in all Ages.

That these Disputes about *Externals* onely, ( for both Parties agree in Substance of Doctrine ) are mischievous to us at home, and scandalous to the Protestant Churches abroad beyond the Seas.

That the *Roman* Church, if it gets no Proselytes from these unseasonable Heats, yet it has great reason to be pleas'd therewith; for she thrives by our Divisions; and can thrive by no other means here now.

That that Church was more Politick ( while she had as fair hopes as ever, to prevail after the Queens death ) by complying outwardly with our Laws: for, till the 12th of *Q. Eliz.* all, or most *Romanists*, in *England*, did, and were per-

permitted by the Pope, to go to our Protestant Churches, to hear the Service, receive the Sacrament, and take the Oath of Allegiance; though since, the Jesuits procur'd a Bull of Inhibition, for their own profit, yet, 'twas never accounted any Crime for a *Romanist*, at that time, not to go, or to go to the Protestant Church: whence, our want of Charity, to the Dissenters, appears less, than that of the *Roman Church*, our Policy less, and our unealiness too visible thereby.

Neither are the Dissenters altogether excusable, in their too stiff Separation, and boggling at small things; but I will be sparing in judging tender Consciences; nevertheless it is obvious, That from our pernicious Divisions, so dangerous to our Religion, and because, tho the first Reformers went a good step, yet *no great progress has lately been made towards the Reason of our departure from Rome, and reforming things amiss*, moderate men on both sides here, do wish for some new Laws, to consolidate the Conformists, and Non-conformists,

in some measure; or, at least, that some Ceremonies might be left: and for the Explanation of some Laws now in force, or limiting the force of others, and particularly of that for imposing twenty pounds *per Month*, for not coming to Church; which Law, I suppose no Lawyer doubts, was originally intended against the *Romanists*, and not against *Protestant Dissenters*, who were few then; and 'twas the *Roman Party* at that time which confronted the Laws, and begot the Statute.

The next Observation relates to *Ex-communications*: which, how familiarly decreed, and for what slight Causes, and upon what gainful Designs; and consequently, how prejudicial to many of his Majesty's good Subjects, and how contrary to its Primitive and Grave Institution, all Wise and Honest men of this Nation are, and have been long, very sensible of, and of the ruine of some Families, and the enriching of ill Officers, by such Methods.

But, may some say, the Statute of *Q. Mary* against *disturbers of Preachers*,  
is



is partly in force, and of Use, which was principally intended against Protestants; for they were the Persons likely to disturb the Romanish Preachers then; wherefore they say, Why is not that of *Eliz.* also to be put in constant practise, it being a general Law, and provides for Peace?

Our Answer is, The Case is alter'd; for, *though equal Principles do lead to equal Ends, 'tis but when the matter about which we are conversant is equal*: And now the Papists are the most dangerous to our Peace, and do plot to that end, if we may credit King and Parliament, or our own Eyes; therefore that Law of *Elizabeth* against Recusancy stands in force; yet it seems to want some Discrimination; and that of *Mary*, being in part repeal'd, is continu'd, as to the disturbing of Preachers, *the true Definition of Law being the Will of the Legislator.*

There are many other antiquated, and, as things are, inconvenient Laws, Civil and Ecclesiastical, which I have not room to remark here; and as to

the brangling practick part of both Courts, the Judges may, at least, they ought to correct it : tho one said wittily, yet truly, *that no body but themselves* (meaning the Civil Practisers) *understands their Practise* ( I had almost said *Laws* ) *nor themselves neither*. The like may be said of the Practise at Common Law, depending upon great Officers, as some say ; if so, 'tis all dark.

This, however, since we are upon Discourse of Reason, I'll venture to say, 'tis evident, that, too often, the Clients are tortur'd betwixt *Prohibitions* and *Consultations* ; so dangerous and troublesome it is, where Courts do strive for Jurisdiction : so also, where the Judge's Power increaseth, and the Jury's decreases, or is over-aw'd : for *where Judges* ( as has been our Case in *Richard the Second's* time ) *presume to determine, or delay by discretion, or border upon the thing call'd perversion, upon misapply'd Maxims,* ( which, I hope will not be our Case : ) *Those Nations are more at ease, where their Laws are unwritten* ( *supposing the Eternity of the Laws of Reason ;* ) and which  
minds

minds me of the familiar and exorbitant Practise of some ( as a wise Lord lately call'd them ) *Trading Justices*, by their granting Warrants upon easie, or unprov'd Suggeitions, ( above 10000 having been made out in one year by one of them lately, which I can prove; ) inſomuch, as few honeſt, modeſt men can be free from their diſcretional Laſh: which is a *Gravamen*, I think, and may, or ought to be prevented by a new introductory Law; for, I ſuppoſe, the Common Law is too dull to do it; or the Medicine, that way, has given place to the Diſeaſe: for the Remedy by an Action againſt the Juſtice, is worſe than the Diſeaſe, ſince their awe upon Juries, from their abuſed Power, to the ſcandal of the Government, and thereby, to the indiſpoling of Subjects from their due and peaceable obedience to the Laws, wherein Religion properly conſiſts: And as to our Reply,

Whereas the Gentleman boldly aſſum'd, but never prov'd, the conſequence of Atheiſm, by the reliance upon Reason, which I have refuted, and ſhew'd

who were two of the most probable Introducers of it ; I think fit to add a third Cause of irreligion, if not Atheism ; namely, the daily Printing and publishing many Translations, and other Books, which presume to treat of the inexplicable Mysteries of the Christian Religion, and of God ; which indeed fall not under Humane Capacity to examine Logically ; and whereby, in stead of reconciling that, which they call Philosophy, to the Doctrine of the New Testament, or remarking upon both Testaments, they render the plain Truths thereof, not only to the Vulgar, but to some pedantically Learned men, suspicious. Such is, the now publicly sold, *Spinoza's* Tractate, which does hurt ; and if I should say, *D. Cud. Repetitions* also, possibly 'twere true, though the Dr. meant well, and is very Learned.

The Contemplation whereof, obliges me to add a fourth Cause of Irreligion, if not Atheism ; which is, that several Books of late years have been *Licens'd*, even by the Universities, bearing glorious Titles, the Subject matter whereof,  
does

does unhinge the Foundations of our Reveal'd Religion, whereof one instance may be in a celebrated Folio, wherein, amongst other wild Opinions, 'tis positively said, and often insisted, that the Soul of man, before its attainment of Heaven, must pass through, ( and run the hazard of being bewild'rd and suffocated in ) thick, gelid Vapours, dusky Clouds, and other such like, which, though the Learned may digest safely, yet ordinary men, who have been taught that the Soul of a good man passes immediately from Earth to Heaven, after death, ( without such intermediate Probations, Purifications and Punishments, ) are apt either to lean, from such infusions, towards the Doctrine of Purgatory, or to think, there is no proper dependance upon our Systeme of Religion; or, which is more probable, from such *Chimæra's* of the Learned, to think, that Religion it self is nothing else but a Politick Device. These Books, I say, so authoriz'd, or Printed otherwise, are the bane of Unwary, and especially young men,

not able truly to weigh matters, nor to take in such Pills without chewing of them. And these are the fruits of exuberant Fancies, not grounded either upon Reason or Scripture, whereof I might give a thousand instances.

Moreover, whereas I have hinted, in my *Reply*, that our Dissenters ought to understand the necessity of some Laws for the Government of the Church; I should have added, that the Conformist Ministers, by several Discourses of many Persons, Eminent for their Degrees and Parts, have best defended Protestantism against its Adversaries of late, tho it does not therefore follow, but that some better Progressions may be made; and if her Out-works and Guards grow crazy, or become languid, by over-much watching, it may be necessary to repair the one, and reinforce the other, with detachments from her disbanded, yet valiant, and politick Officers.

For, where Workmen or Souldiers are left, or put out of Employment, upon presumption that there's no occasion to use their help, (if there happen to be

occa-

occasion for their assistance by a sudden irruption of the Enemy; ) 'tis not only convenient, but necessary to take them into Service again, unless their former Unfaithfulness have render'd them totally unworthy, or incapable: Now, whether the present time requires the whole strength of our Friends, or not; or, whether the Nonconformist Ministers are fit to be considered as Friends, upon the main, who are belov'd of the greatest number of Civil People, are generally moral men, and are oblig'd, in point of Interest, and otherwise dispos'd, to oppose the *Romanists*, I must leave Authority in Parliament to consider; and I doubt not but the thing will be consider'd there, with all the imaginable Duty, and rational Representations to His Majesty, with the utmost respect to his Imperial Crown and Dignity, which ought to be the wish and Prayer of all Protestants; and possibly, the undoubted truth of this *Aphorism* may inforce the Consult, *viz.* That where the Danger of any action out-weighs the probable profit, 'tis no wisdom to attempt

tempt it : but where the possible profit outweighs the Danger, 'tis imprudence to neglect it.

But, whether these *Instances* will be pleasing to men otherwise influenc'd by Interest, or misguided by the Artifice of others, not truly *English*, it does not much concern me: for I am well persuaded, by *Humane Reason*, that they need no other proofs of their veracity, to all knowing and good Subjects, than their bare Prolations ( yet I do but propound ( as I think ) what is Rational.)

Pursuant to my Design ; No man questions, but that Peace is the proper end of Government, so 'tis admitted, that the Magistrate is Judge of the ways and methods which conduce to that end ; nor is it deny'd by any that pretends to Sense, but that Opinions, if contrary to Peace, ( in the Judgment of the Supreme Magistrate ) may be regulated, because mens Actions commonly follow their Opinions: and, 'tis experimentally true, that our Divisions about small things, do weaken the Pro-  
te-



testant Cause ; and it follows thence, that rigid and indiscreet, starcht and positive men of all sides, relating to the External part of Worship, are the hindrance of Peace.

Next these, follow the foolish, yet dangerous *Atheists*, who are the onely Rebels against God, with which Disease, whoever is tinctur'd, is ready, if possibly, to shake off all obedience to his Vicegerents upon Earth, and, consequently, to reduce Mankind to the state of War, which is Anarchy; and against which Poyson, I have proved; Reason to be the onely Antidote: whence it naturally follows, that all those who daily, by Discourse and Writings, industriously strive, not onely to undermine the Basis of the *Protestant*, but to cancell the undoubted and Eternal obligations of Natural Religion, are Enemies to Peace; and without which conviction (which begot all Covenants, the very foundations of Property) no fear of present or future Punishments, for violation of such Covenants, can be at all; and thence, all obedience to Humane Laws will

will decay, if it shall seem against Interest. I suppose therefore, it mainly concerns the Supreme Magistrate, as well in his Natural, as Politick Capacity, by *all possible condescensions*, upon emergent occasions, and By-laws, in time, and Penally, to obviate the growth of such idle Discourses, as threaten the dissolution of Government it self; unto which end, there can be no such direction as Humane Reason, whose Excellency I defend, and endeavour to prove, not onely to be the safest, but the onely guide, with due helps out of Gods revealed Will; which also Reason teaches to understand, and apply.

Besides, It is the Magistrate's true Interest so to provide, by prevention, who can never be supported, but must fail, when either he wants Power *de facto*, (which all fiery Zelots of any side would circumscribe) to discharge his Duty to God and Man; or shall be oblig'd to part with any of his necessary and essential Rights of Sovereignty, (whereof want of Money is alwayes the Parent)

*A Review and Appendix. III*

Parent ) and which makes me think, that no man can be judg'd a good Subject, nor a Lover of that Government, (under which we have liv'd for so many Ages happily ) who designs such Limitations to his King, as may hinder the discharge of his Trust, as a King. Nor can any man be accounted a good Counsellor to his Prince, who shall advise such wayes, ( tho never so specious ) as, if followed, may lessen his Master's Reputation of sincere Care and Study for the Preservation of his Subjects ; to which Distemper, so pernicious and fatal to the best Princes, ( where their Favourites are false or weak ) 'tis impossible a great General Council (whose Safety is involv'd in the Safety of their King ) can be obnoxious, considering the Elements of such a Council, for whose Session and Progression, all men, not conscious of ill Actions towards the Publick weal of their Native Countrey, really pray.

Yet I will not deny, but some others ought to be rather convinc'd by Reason, than accus'd for Malignancy against the

the Publick : such are those, who take wrong measures, and create, to themselves, unnecessary Fears, from our late Abuses, in the times of Civil Wars here, and of that Usurped Power, by a sort of Masterless, and ill men, *to the Reproach and indelible Infamy of our English Nation ; tho, God knows, it was against the will of the greatest, and most considerable part thereof.* Such are others, and possibly well-meaning men, who, from the inutility of another now dissolv'd long P. since, ( to say no worse ) or from the ill Complexion of Affairs now, and difficulty of Cure by Parliamentary Methods ; or from the immoderate Heat of some, too many, Great, but young men, who, probably, have not well consider'd the Late Civil Wars, nor the Danger and Incivility of too eagerly pressing the Sovereign Power to unseasonable Concessions, not of absolute Necessity, or upon other more remote or distant Fears, whose Effects to obviate, only lies in the Power of God : or from what other Causes I know not, that they and other men become opposite

sute to the general desires of all those, who are satisfied, that no other means can be found out to set us right every way, but a true understanding in P. betwixt his Majesty and his People : for the securing us from the most unkind, unprovok'd, indefatigable, and industrious Designs of all such, who either, blinded by furious Zeal, moved by Interest, or, which is worst of all ( and which I am loth to believe ) out of mere spite, leave no stone unturn'd, to introduce a Foreign Jurisdiction ; tho hitherto, thanks be to God, such Concussions have rather fix'd and awaken'd us, than weaken'd our Foundations, both Politick and Religious ; for whose supportation, to speak humanely, we are more beholding to his Majesty, to the bravery of the Gentry and City, than to the Zeal of some others, as much oblig'd by their Interest, if they could see it.

But, as to that Pretence, that our Laws are already so good, as there needs no better ; certain it is, there is, and always has been, and will be, from the nature  
of

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of Laws themselves, Causes and Accidents ( which no Humane Laws, nor the Wit or Reason of any Body of Men could fore-see ) to explain, alter, and enact new Laws; unto which ends, if there be any better way or method than Humane Reason, I would be glad to understand it; and then, and not till then, I shall stand convinc'd, that what the *Gent.* I oppose, has offer'd in disparagement thereof, is cogent. But, if Reason be the onely way to settle Peace, ( I say, Reason, which is antecedent to all Laws, and therefore the Determiner of the Rectitude and Obliguity of every Action, a thing confess'd every where; ) let us stick to it; unless we desire to be inroll'd amongst the number of those who are delirious in one single point, not by defectuous Procreation, but from the untamed Career of their own Passions. For, whether some mens adhesion to others of contrary Principles, upon general Pretences of Love to mankind, or of an exploded Claim to Infallibility; or that other vain fears, which have disorder'd their Under-

derstandings; or whether the deplorable and impolitick Expressions of some of our Clergy-men, as to their rather enduring the *Roman*, than the *Presbyterian Form* (whereof there is no fear) be not a plain evidence, that such Persons are beside themselves, I leave wise men to determine.

And now I shall forbear the Gent. a little while, fearing to have tired the Reader's Patience, and being very sensible, 'tis something against the grain to plane with a Tool, whose edge is already bazal'd, by his taking of it by the *wrong handle*, or not steady holding of it; or otherwise, possibly by his overweening conceit of having the better Cause; but 'tis no great matter which way it come, nor which of us two are mistaken, if some other better workman may chance to be awakend, or rowz'd up, to correct us both; which may be necessary, for ought I know; for, while two strive, a third often gets the prize: this I am sure of, men of general Conversation are the best Judges, not mere Book-men; the want of which, has, if  
not

not corrupted, yet apparently weakn'd the Judgment of a brave Person, and worthy the Title of a Learned, and very Rational men.

Sir *M. Hale*, that Vertuous and Equitable Judge, whose Law, as it is Piacular for me to question, yet, if I should with his *Philosophy* unwritten, the wisest would conclude me his Friend. This was that large capacious Head, who wanted the happiness of Conversation; which, had he used, many Notions which he Printed, and thought rare, because appearing so to him in his Study, would have appeared very trite to himself; and consequently, he had never, by their Publication, taken off from the general opinion most men had of his Excellent Endowments Natural, and acquired Parts; *but all --- men have their blind sides.*

The next shall be *T. Hobs*, whose Arguments no man ever condemn'd, who read him without Prejudice, and could understand them, and whose Writings plainly clear the difference betwixt a *poring* and a thinking man, which last he was, (pious in his Life, and dying



ing like a true Christian Philosopher ) yet, certainly, it had been impossible, ( notwithstanding his great Advantages of Learning, Quiet, long Life and Health ) if he had not travell'd, and convers'd with the greatest Wits much abroad, and at home in his younger time; for him to have made all men see, and his very Antagonists confess, the prodigious Strength of his Reason and Wit, whereof his golden Book *de Cive*, so valu'd by all Lawyers at home and abroad: ( to speak it for the Honour of *England* ) and his Objections against Worthy *Des Cartes*, about his Meditations concerning the Question, *Whether we can have a proper Idea of God, or not?* are such evident Proofs, that to deny it, is to be accounted stupid, or short-sighted: And for his Arguments about Liberty and Necessity, against Bishop *Bramhall*, they are so hugely fine, and so curiously, yet naturally, cogent, that, for the future, 'twill be judg'd mere Presumption, to superadd any thing upon that Subject, so briskly canvass'd betwixt that Learned *Prelate* and him: and of what

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what great weight, and yet hardly fathom'd consequence, those Arguments are, and how far the dilucidation of those Points there handled, will operate in present and future Ages, the sharpest Eyes now alive cannot penetrate; tho' this inquiring time has shrewdly guess'd at it, and already improv'd those undeniable Proofs to no small Advantage, ev'n to the Exposing of the School-men, and the old mistaken Physicks, as waste Paper, and Judicial Astrology to a Ridicule: Let the Reader conclude what becomes of *all the stuff which is laid as a foundation to build upon by the two first, and may easily see besides, the inconsistency of the third, if the Will be free.* I am glad however, the Learned have left us the Faculty of Deliberation, and for such men's positive imposing, I take it to be for want of breeding.

But, why should our present great Pretenders to all the Wit and Learning, be troubled at our diffidence in their Judgments; when 'tis plain, Let them take out of Books (when they do find them-

themselves gall'd ) never so imperiously, Private Preachers do every where, for Fortune, equalize the Pulpits, Quacks and old Women Physicians, and Solicitors Lawyers: So hard a thing it is for Pedantick men, or for any others, who are too much affected with that pitiful Disease of keeping of themselves in favour with themselves ( by referring to Books in Company ) not to be tiresome, as well to their Opposers, as often to their best Friends: indeed such Dogmatizers, who would *brow-beat* others, of better breeding, with such endless Vanities, or a *Spanish shrug*, are the most incorrigible Fops about the Town; and had need, for all their Noise, and flatteries of their Friends, be cut of that Disease, which in *Effex* is call'd the *Simples*; *but 'tis hard to find a fit Surgeon*, where the wounded Party will not believe he is in danger; 'twere happy for such men, if they had but just so much Wit, as to know themselves to be half-witted: *But the breed of these Teazers is Clerical, they are too eager, scud-dle, and ranging.*

Nor

Nor is it less difficult to cure the itch of those, who, on the one hand, contend to prove the *grand* sinfulness of Separation, and on the other hand, for the Alleviation of that Crime; whenas, at this time, to my knowledge, two parts of three of the most knowing Gentlemen, and others about *London*, are sensible, a man may be very safe without inclining to the one side or other; the whole Discourse being about little, or, at best, indifferent Stuff; the Quarrel, I say, is about things of no great moment, if any at all, as to man's future happiness.

However, I would have those eager ones for Conformity, well consider the present *Genius* of the People occasion'd by the late mutinous Times; whose tinctures and infusions, as to Religion, are still growing, and therefore render it wholly impracticable here to force a Conformity; unless 'twere possible to reduce *England* to that state it was in before *H. the Eighth's* time, when so great a part of the Land was in the Churches, and the Nobilities possession; whereas now,  
it

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it is, in a great measure, come into the hands of Trading men, who set the meaner sort at work, who are thereby oblig'd to be, or at least seem to be, of their Employer's Opinion, who love Power, as all men do; and since, in other things, their Education, or other Incapacity bars them from the exercise thereof, they are pleas'd with such homage as their Dependents do, and cannot avoid giving of them: and this translation of Estates, if it have made the Church weaker, it *has made the King stronger*; for it has Enrich'd the Body of the Nation, in whose riches his Majesties Strength consists.

And further ( to speak freely ) I much question, whether the *Roman Religion* could have hitherto been kept out, ( at least not so easily ) if much of those Lands, and other noble Estates since, had not been dispers'd into Trading hands; and, as for the present prospect of Affairs, where the one Party endeavours ( which is Natural ) to introduce the Religion shut out by *Laws*, and the other Party ( for it's now wholly reduc'd to whether *Papist or Protestant* )

to keep their own in : I may conclude, 'tis *London* which stands in the way of the first, under his Majesty, and is the Buckler for the Second ; *London*, I say, the very Eye of the Three Nations, and Envy of the World, and will so continue, if she be so happy as to be sensible of her own Happiness, and wherein it consists ; which is so obvious, that if any of her worthy Citizens be ignorant of it, they want that very thing I have so much magnify'd, and will confess it upon better consideration ; when Time, or their own Experience shall furnish 'em with a Glass to inspect the Fidelity, and Discretion of their Friends, and the ill projects, and weak, ev'n of all those also, who, upon what specious colours soever, fall from the common Interest of this great City and Kingdom, into a discontented Humour, or dangerous Neutrality, which is worse.

But there is reason to hope, a short time will produce such serene Winds, from the Agreement of our Superiours, as will dissipate those dull Meteors which seem to threaten our Peace, tho, as the  
Seas,

Seas, after a Storm, will boyl a while, so it is impossible the Fears of the People, from the Provocations of ill men, should vanish in an instant: but while the Groundsels are good, and the Studs sound, there is no fear the Building will fall, tho it may rock to some degree. Let us patiently wait upon that Providence, which never fails the just man, tho sometimes it seems to be unconcern'd in these Sublunary matters: but we are better instructed, and since we have liv'd to see the useflessness of all the old Philosophy, which consisted merely in Words; of that kind of whifling Theology, which was compos'd, most what, of insignificant Notions; and of that Physick, which, by its dull activity, was, for the most part, more tedious than the Disease; so we may hope, that Time, and the Exigency of Affairs, will bring us into such a fresh Composition, and new Fabrick of Laws, as shall chear up the hearts of all true *English Protestants*, and render his Sacred Majesty more secure at home, and more formidable abroad; which, that it may

be effected, is so reasonable a Prayer, that I am confident all those who but pretend to so Excellent a Ladies Favour as Reason is, and love their Native Soil, or enjoy the Repose of *England*, must cordially second it ; and will shew the Obduration of that sort of men, whom, neither the long and prosperous Reign of that Queen, who baffl'd the, then *greatest Prince*, and *greatest Bishop*, can yet convince, 'twas God's special Favour to a very good Cause ; nor that the Preservation of his Majesties Grandfather, and the Body of the State, from that black Design, was beyond Humane Wit, and the mere Blessing of the Divine Power : nor that the Counsels of such, who in the late unhappy Times produc'd such deplorable Effects, were influenc'd by that very Society, which is not only ----troublesome now to us, as Protestants, but to the rest of the *Romanists*, of milder tempers ; these, I say, unconvinc'd of these Truths, I must leave to their own Weakness, for it can be no other ; unless it be mere obstinacy or ill Will, and they must thank them-



themselves, if thereby, they at last oblige our Government to a smarter Execution of Laws against them; and that deservedly; tho, I confess, 'tis the less wonder to me, that Persons of inferiour degree among the *Romanists*, should grope in the dark, ( *who are the proper Subjects of the Kingdom of Darkness* ). since Day-light, from the present Mists interposing at home; can hardly appear; tho it may be pious to suppose, God may be pleas'd, even by the Contests, and alternate Disputes of our own Clergy, to cancel all *beggarly Rudiments of indifferent Forms*, so much (too much) contended for, and perhaps, too eagerly oppos'd at this instant.

Mean time, 'tis observable, what inveterate Enmity there has always been betwixt those, who claim their Spiritual Commission to preach, from Heaven, and those, who either do, or should know, the Laws are their best Commission; witness the Violence ( and very fatal to our Peace ) of the high Church-men before the Great Parliament, against the old Puritan Ministers,

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then, the hard usage of these last, when they got into the Power, towards the Episcopal Party, during the Civil Wars; & the present eagerness of some to punish the Nonconforming Ministers, *which is not to do as we would be done unto* : but the Jesuits and Seculars do the same, such is the general Disease of Ecclesiasticks every where.

The truth is, here is great clamour in some Pulpits, and otherwise, against the sin of Separation, to prove it so ( tho 'tis by others as briskly defended not to be a Sin ) but how little is said there against the publick Sins of the Nation? Many exclaim against Petitioning, but how few stand right as to the Publick Interest? as if the Laity were so blind, as not to observe these things, and that *they that are not for truth are against it.*

Further, It has been often known in *England*, and in our time, that Souldiers of different sides, upon Renditions of Garrisons, Acts of Grace &c. have contracted Friendships, and lov'd one another afterwards; that Complainants  
and

and Defendants, after long and exasperated Chancery Suits, have agreed lovingly, to a high degree of Friendship; that Trades-men have lov'd and help'd one another, who have been Competitors, when there was room for both to live: that the greatest *Hectors* and *Huffs*, after the Vapours of Wine were spent, have forgot their Quarrels, and hugg'd one another: Nay, our Women, who so seldom agree, ( the fair ones ) when Preferment has been open'd to each of two, have lov'd one another; but the Anger and Jealousies of that other sort of men, is unappeasable, and will be so, while one side rubs old sores too much, and the other side gives uncivil Language, ev'n to those who have best defended the main Posts against the *Romanists*, who also pretend to Reason, and take advantage by these interferences.

But what's the Reason of this Heat at home? Is it not for Power, and from Ambition? *contrary to their Master's Doctrine*: 'twere better if they would let these Disputes alone, and, according to

their Duties, teach men Virtue, properly consisting in obedience to Laws; but these janglings will be endless, to the disquiet of the People, while both sides violate, by their Reflections, the *Act of Grace*, so solemnly penn'd, *which retro-spects to 1637, and extends to 1661.*

For my part, I know not why any wise man should concern himself which side speaks most to the purpose, (*for 'tis all to me good purpose*) since in other things about Religion, *the more we know, the worse they like us.*

But 'tis well, we have at last found out, that Ignorance can never in *England* be the true Parent of either Civil or Theological Devotion: and 'tis plain, that unless the little, but notable Weekly Describer of the *Roman Devices*, (which out-does all the Theaters, how glorious soever since the Fire, I had almost said Pulpits) if that Pen, I say, cannot be corrected, (which is true, as to matter of Fact) we shall yet infinitely improve our Understandings; and if the Coffee-houses, (*those open Enemies, and dangerous to the sick Kingdom of Fairies.*)

ries ) be not suppress'd, the solid truth of our Author's Assertion, which the Gent. carped at, but weakly, will shine still brighter, viz. *That it is impossible any man should have been, is, or hereafter can be guided, by any other thing but his own Reason: as in all other things, so in matters of Religion, I say, sayes the Author, impossible: for in all Belief, and in all other Actions, the last Appeal is to Reason; for I believe this or that Doctrine, or do this or that action, because I have some Reason for it; and that this does justify the whole Doctrine of his Treatise, and my Reply, is evident enough.*

Wherefore, this Apologetick Review and Appendix is written by me, who am one of those very loth to be bestridden by the Gallopers of either side: tho I should rejoyce to see our Clergy love another, and the Dissenting Ministers also to love the other; which can never be, whilst the Paper skirmishing grows ranker and ranker; and, to speak out, there can never be any cordial Affection, ev'n amongst the Conforming Ministers, while Preferments, and maintenance Ecclesiastical are so unequally divided:

while so many worthy men can scarce get Bread, or must live too meanly; ( for the Clergy-man of an indifferent Living is pinch't too much ) and meantime, too many others abound with various Preferments; 'tis high time to reform this Evil, and specially now, when *the Harvest is great, & the Labourers are too many,* (or might be enough) if they were paid for their Work, which they are ready to do, or have done, and ought to be retain'd to do; while the Vermin are hov'ring about to devour and spoil the Crop by wide Mouths and sharp Talons. But *curst Cows have short Horns*, and we begin neither to admire the Policies of that Party, nor have cause to value their Force, the first being fathomable by the easiest capacity, and the second prevented by the vigilancy of the Government.

And, to my solid comfort, I well remember the resolution of my good Friend, Bishop *Gawden*, while he was Parson of *Bocking*, in *Essex*, to my Question, Whether, if I believ'd in God and Christ, I were obliged to be a Member of any particular Church or no; which was this; *That if I were one of God's U-*

niversal Church, 'twas no great matter whether I were joyn'd to any petty Church Policy upon Earth, or no. A golden saying, and I must not belye the dead ; and this Doctor kept his Parsonage all along till the Restauration of his Majesty, and knew well, 'twas not necessary for him to be a Martyr of State in those ugly convulsions of Government ; tho he was so bravely honest, as, by an excellent and Loyal Protestation in Print, to dissuade those bad men, who then were about destroying of the King, and did do it, from so horrid a Crime ; but when 'twas done, he sat still, and liv'd splendidly, never opposing the Usurpation to no purpose, as all wise men do, who wheel about when there is reason : And 'tis best to be silent, where Force ( tho usurped ) runs high, and beyond the help of private men : and this made the Judges act in t'other times, for Right and Property must be maintain'd ; and made Bishop *Juxon* fall to hunting.

And I never knew any man very wise, who shew'd himself eager to punish others for not complying with Externals about Religion ; So the Peace be not

violated, which is the greatest of Earthly Blessings, and which we have enjoy'd at home, ever since the King was restor'd, and whereof, I suppose, there will not in his time, (and long may he live) be any want, if this great Animal, *the Empire of Great Britain*, be but true to its own Interest, the *Protestant Religion*.

And to prove the truth of that *Maxime*, let it be noted, how, for now above an hundred years experience, by the Sufferings of good men in *Q. Maries* days, and otherwise, it has been from Scripture and Reason, warranted and defended against all the Wit and Machinations of the other side, ev'n to a plain baffle of late, by *D. Stillingfleet*, which deserves all imaginable thankful respects.

And let it be considered, that our Religion is most consonant to the *Genius* of the best, and most of his Majesties Subjects, to our Common Laws, and our Form of Monarchy, and has been more than once signaliz'd with Blessings from Heaven, against all its dangerous Opponents.

This, I say, is the prop of our Peace, and the proper Antidote against Profaneness,



ness, Atheism and Popery ( which are unseparable) when it is secur'd by wholsom Laws, and their due Execution (the Life of all Laws) unto which Sanctions, all *Romanists*, from their Protection under them, are oblig'd, by the Laws of Reason, to render obedience ; at least, they should not endeavour to pervert others from it.

Whence this conclusion naturally arises, That the Disturbers of our Peace at this time in *England*, of what sort soever ( so protected ) are unreasonable men, where there is such plenty, and where, all Arts and Sciences flourish to a degree beyond any part of the habitable World ; and thence it follows, that if any ingenious Person is uneasie here, he ought to consider, if his want of Humility, severity of Opinion upon begg'd Principles, Credulity, or too great an esteem of his own Wisdom, have not made him so uneasie.

But further, If neither the searching Wits of the *Rainbow* Coffee-house, the generous Learning of *Covent-garden*, the Politick Gown-men at *Paul's Cross*, the fixible Mercury of *Fuller's Rents*, the Presumptions of *Charing Cross*, nor the huge strength of the new Chappel near the great Arch, can

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reduce us to Moderation, nor satisfy our Doubts and Fears: if the Ludicrous Drolls of future Fortune cannot be foreseen by the highest Star-gazing Philosophers; nor by the Magick of honest *Fl.* If the quaintest Lawyers cannot agree, whether a Pardon, after an Impeachment, &c. by the Publick hand, signify something or nothing: If some rank high Ecclesiasticks cannot be cur'd of their Melancholy, without vent'ring to take that *Ignatian Powder*, which will never do their Business, and does but suspend the Fever: Nevertheless, let the Winds shift as they may, the Lee Port is at hand, and safe, *Humane Reason*, which will shelter us from storms, if men, in their stations, will discreetly follow its guidance, *as the safest Rule for Self-preservation; for the examination of all Doctrines obtruded by Humane Authority, and of every miraculous pretension, as the best measure of Conscience (because of Scripture; )* without whose free Use, ( I mean of Reasons, ) Impudence will pass for Sense, Stupidity for Discretion, Fury for Valour, the Town *Bullies and Cullies* for the most accomplished Gentlemen, hagg'd Curtezans for modest Ladies, and the most senseless, infatuated

*Bigots* for the most Religious: therefore, to avoid mistakes of such natures, or at least, to allay the sharpness of our Epidemical Distempers.

I hope I have, in this Reply, and by the favour of Reason, not only defeated the Forlorn, but the united *Phalanx* of the Gentleman's best disciplin'd Infantry, and his Body of Horse also, who durst oppose Reason's Bravery and Strength.

It remains, that I come off as civilly with him, as he does with the Author, where at last he says, that he (the Author) could not be angry with him upon his own Principles: for, says the *Gent.* I have guided myself in my Answer wholly by my own Reason, which I thank him for, he having thereby justifi'd the whole Treatise of the Author's, and thereby shrivl'd his Answer into waste Paper; and serves to shew, that my Replying is no greater Crime than his was, who was charged to say, *O. Cromwel's* Horse was shod with Iron; and far short of *Banks* his sin, who shod his with Gold; tho the one escap't the High Court of Justice, yet the other could not the Star Chamber; the Usurpt Dominion of the first dissolving naturally,  
for

for defect of essential Rights to sustain it; and the second being abolisht for Exorbitancy; which Defect can never justify Disobedience to Lawful Sovereignty, as ours is; and whereunto, if *Calvin's Case* had ne're been printed, I should have rationally submitted, because my obligation lyes in the nature of my Submission; Oaths adding nothing to it; and our Laws say, (Obedience is due from Nature; wherein, Sir R. F. my Countrey man is right, tho out in other things; and tho *Paul* advises Obedience, not for Fear, but Conscience, yet is an equivocal word, never us'd in the Old Testament, and more subject to Errour than Reason, because less supported by solid Argument, and too often dazl'd by Enthuliasin, the Disease of Reason, and Conscience also, which first, to speak humanely, must yet be admitted to be the elder, considering God's *Inhibition probational to Adam, &c.*

But, to let that Mystery alone, and yet to leave nothing unweigh'd, which the Gent. has offer'd against Humane Reason; Upon Review of his Answer, I am oblig'd to say once more, that one part of three in it swells with illogical Consequences, and

and is against constant Experience : for he undertakes to shew what mischiefs must come to pass, if Liberty of Conscience were permitted : as to that, 'tis plainly otherwise ; for, since Liberty has been generally assum'd, the Nation has been very peaceable and obedient every way otherwise ; this, I say, is another experimental confutation of the main part of his Answer.

Therefore, I would not have the *Gent.* spoil the Tone of his Stomach by Choler, if I do discomply with him in not granting the not so horrible consequences of such a Liberty, as he presumes, contrary to Reason and Experience : For if the *Gent's.* desire had been seconded with Execution rigorously against the Dissenters, it might have hazarded the putting of the *English* Nation into great Disorder by this time : his words being, *Pag. 152 of Plain Dealing, That if the Nobility and Gentry will not suppress the Seētaries, by the Execution of the Laws, they will soon arrive at that height, that the Sword must do it, or else there will be no Government at all in our Nation : but what if it be impracticable to suppress them, because the People will not accuse one another ?*

'Tis

'Tis true, Reason of State has been forc'd to strike smartly that other sort of men, who, by their barbarous and impolitick Actions, have dared to confront the Government, but I hope they will be made wiser hereafter, by the late Examples of publick and infamous Inflictions; *for, it seems, the Common Law is in many Cases in the breasts of the Judges, de Modo Pœne.*

And let the Event be what it will, (to use the Gent's. own words, in the close of his Answer ) I must also with him profess, that I have fully satisfi'd not only my *Conscience*, but my *Reason* also, *which is the surer way, and from better motives*, in this Reply, by shewing my self, according to my Duty, a sincere Lover of Peace, of Religion in general, and of that particular Religion, the support whereof I have asserted to be the true Interest of *England*, and was alwayes so esteem'd since the *Reformation*.

And I will add my promise to the Gent. and that upon the word of a Gentleman (*which ought to be as sacred as that of a Priest* ) that if he shall please to give me a Rejoynder *without departure from his*  
first

*first Plea*, I will not demurr for want of Form, but leave the Dispute to the Censure of indifferent Judges, upon the whole Argument, viz. *Whether Humane Reason be not the best and safest Guide, with its due helps, beyond Popes, Councils, Fathers, Canons, and all Books whatsoever, the Scripture excepted; which yet, if any man will ask me how I think to understand, I can give him no other Answer but this, that I must do it by Reason, which is the only Talent God has indu'd me with, for my preservation here, and hereafter; and by which, and no other mediation, it's possible, for a man of good Understanding, and not clogg'd with false Principles, to be satisfy'd, that the natural Dictates of God (Reason) carry no repugnancy to the Law and Will of God, revealed in the Scripture; the study of which Learning, is the foundation of all true Ratiocination, and the most generous, and most useful Science for all men to aspire unto, who would know their respective Duties, as Christians and Subjects; and upon the Presumption of which Axiome, it is, that our Law of England, ( if it were well digested into Method, certainly the best in the World )*  
does

does say, that if any Law shall be enacted contrary to Reason, it is void, *eo instante*; because contrary to God's undoubted Eternal Law, the Law of Reason, my Province to maintain: wherein, if any thing have slipped from my Pen, not consistent with the Duty of a good Subject, or true Christian, I do, submissively and heartily beg pardon for it.

And, to compleat my candid, and, at present, sole Design of supporting Reason's Energy, and for the justification of *H.* the Eighth's forsaking the *Roman* Church, and thereby to justify the Reformed Protestant Religion: let the Reader consult the Decretory Council held under, and by the Command of Pope *Paul* the Third, 1538, Printed 1609 at *London*, and taken out of Mr. *Crasbam's* Library, then Preacher of the Temple, wherein the Abuses of the *Roman* Ecclesiasticks are manifested, under the Certificate of Nine of the most Eminent Cardinals then living, (whereof *Pool* was one, and *Sadolete* another) to whose Inspection, the Inquiry was then refer'd by the said Pope; which Abuses, the Court of  
*Rome*



Rome would not then correct, nor are they yet corrected, the Book being suppress'd by Order of that Church, and coming to my hands something late from a worthy Bencher of *Grayes Inn*, which, otherwise, had sooner been made Use of, to prove Reason a safer Guide than that Church which pretends to Infallibility, and may serve for Answer to that *Romanist*, who published some weak Reflections upon our Author's Discourse of *Humane Reason*, who, if he fail'd in any thing handled in his Book, 'twas in his a little too slightly referring the Cause of *H. the Eighth's* deserting of the *Roman See* to his Wantonness, &c. For, that there were many other concurring motives to his Desertion, is very probable, from some Speeches I have seen of his in Parliament, and from Histories about him, who was, tho a severe, yet withal, a very stout and inquisitive Prince, and fitted thereby for the Work he so worthily began, and whereof the Advantage accrues to us at this time: Such are the unsearchable depths of Providence, which, tho few observe, and fewer are willing to resign their Wills unto, will do what is best for good men. Last-

Lastly, Because some men are most guided by Book Authorities, I think fit to add, that *Montaigne, Erasmus, Raymond Sebond, Charone, Cassander, Chillingworth, Cartesius, Milton, Gell, Baxter, and Hobbs* also, with others of Fame, as *D. Stillingfleet*, not to forget Bishop *Tayler*, have unanimously approv'd of Reason as the best Guide, and favour'd, or coolly advis'd, a circumscrib'd Toleration, I having named *Grotius* before : but I refer the ingenuous Reader, once for all, to that excellent Discourse of the Rise and Power of Parliaments, Laws, Courts, &c. and of Religion, printed 1677. by way of Letter to a Parliament-man, wherein, a Toleration in Religion here, for all (but the Jesuits and Seculars) is argued to be, not onely Political, but highly Rational, and consonant to the Doctrine of the Holy Jesus ; of which Opinion, till I am convinc'd otherwise by Reason, I am resolv'd to be, and no longer, for I cannot.

Mean time, as a Corollary to this Reply, I subjoyn, with submission, that it appears plainly, by his Majesties Royal Father's Golden Book, he was not much averrse to it ; and that ev'n *Charles the Fifth,*

Fifth, during the *Interim*, ( see *Sleydan* ) did allow a kind of Toleration in Germany, where I leave the Cause, but really unwillingly ; for, further Proofs crowd so fast into me, that to forbear venting them, is a kind of Disease upon me, tho, I hope, not Mortal. Neither do I stand in awe of any Censure upon my Conclusions, already publish'd, by the future Impressions of any Bigotical Opponent whatsoever.

*Epitaphium Cliffordianum.*

**H**IC jacet insignis Cliffordi capsula, terræ  
Reddita, sed melior pars resoluta Polo.  
Carminē non opus est famam celebrare, polito  
( Ni fallor ) Libro gloria certa micat.  
Humanæ Rationis opus munivit, & ultrò  
Esse ducem vitæ, subsidiumque viæ.  
Si quæ præterea superaddere vota Poësis  
Auderet, nitida sacrificanda manu.

Englished.

**H**ere, snatcht by Death, *Clifford* interr'd does  
lye,  
Whose Nobler Part is vehic'd on high;  
There needs no Muse to celebrate his Fame,  
Whose Book eterniz'd has his gen'rous Name.  
He

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He proved *Humane Reason's* worth so well,  
 From other Arts it bears away the Bell.  
 If any Poet superadds to this,  
 With impure hands, his *Holocaust's* amiss.

## His Character.

**A**S to his Person, 'twas little, his Face rather flat than oval, his Eye serious, Countenance Leonine, his Constitution Cholerick, Sanguine, tinctur'd with Melancholy : of a facetious Conversation ; yet a great Humorist ; of quick Parts, so of quick Passions, and Venereal, thence Lazy ; he was learned, very critical, positive and proud, charitable enough, and scorn'd to be rich ; he had a will to be just ; would drink to excess sometimes. His Religion was that of his Countrey ; he was always Loyal to his King, and a very good Poet. He died 'twixt 50 and 60, at *Sutton's Hospital*, whose Master he then was ; not much lamented by the Pensioners ; few knew him well. He was a man strangely compos'd ; 'tis question'd whether his Virtues or Vices were most ; I incline to the last, yet he departed peaceably and piously.

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